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PLATES.

ZUR FRAGE EINER KONSTANZER SCHREIBSCHULE IN KAROLINGISCHER ZEIT.

VON KARL LÖFFLER.

Zu Anfang möge eine Bitte um Entschuldigung stehen, dass in dieser nur der Palaeographie dienenden Zeitschrift eine bibliotheksgeschichtliche Erörterung bei der Behandlung einer palaeographischen Frage grösseren Raum einnimmt. Aber zur Klärung der Frage und zur Sicherung ihrer Grundlage kann dieses Hilfsmittel nicht entbehrt werden.

Die Bibliothek des Konstanzer Domkapitels galt noch vor zwei Jahrzehnten als verschollen. Erst dem Scharfsinn und der Spürarbeit Paul Lehmanns ist es geglückt, ihre Fährte in der Bücherei eines benachbarten Klosters, der Benediktiner-Abtei Weingarten, wieder aufzufinden (Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos. philol. und histor. Klasse, Jahrgang 1908, Abt. 4). Auf Lehmann's Spuren ist dann der Nachweis gelungen, dass im Jahr 1630 das Kloster Weingarten vom Konstanzer Domkapitel 159 Pergament- und 172 Papierhandschriften durch einen Handel, der allerdings einem alten Domkapitel keine besondere Ehre machte, um verhältnismässig billiges Geld erworben hat (Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Jahrgang 27, 1910, S. 435 ff.). So war die Möglichkeit geschaffen aus den Weingartner Beständen, die heute zum grössten Teil sich in der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek befinden, die Konstanzer Bibliothek wieder zusammenzustellen: die Weingartner Bücher, die auf dem ersten Blatt den Eintrag « Monasterii Weingartensis 1630 » tragen, stellen im wesentlichen die alte Dombibliothek dar. Glücklicherweise besitzen wir ein treffliches Mittel aus früherer Zeit, um den Bestand der so rekonstruierten Sammlung nachzuprüfen. Aus dem Jahr 1343

ist ein Katalog der Bibliothek des Domkapitels erhalten, der die Probe aufs Exempel machen lässt (Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge. Deutschland und Schweiz. Band I, 1918. S. 192 ff.).

Unter den damit als früherer Besitz der Konstanzer Bibliothek nachgewiesenen Handschriften ist nun eine ganz beachtliche Zahl aus karolingischer Zeit, gerade aus dem interessanten Abschnitt der letzten Jahrzehnte des 8 und der ersten des 9 Jahrhunderts. Freilich schwebt über diesen Handschriften hinsichtlich der Frage ihres Ursprungs noch eine gewisse Unsicherheit. Einige von ihnen sind seither schon in der Literatur mehrfach behandelt und je nach dem verschiedener Heimat zugewiesen worden. Zunächst hat Swarzenski bei kunstgeschichtlichen Studien ein paar davon benützt bei seinem feinsinnigen Bau, der eine Brücke schlagen sollte zwischen der Reichenau der Ottonenzeit und der Reichenau der karolingischen Zeit (Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, Band XXVI. 1903. S. 389 ff. und 476 ff.). Hernach hat ein jüngerer Kunsthistoriker, Merton, zum Teil dieselben Handschriften der Nachbarabtei St. Gallen zugewiesen (Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom 9 bis zum 11 Jahrhundert, 1912). Neuerdings hat dann ein Beuroner Benediktiner, P. Munding, von liturgiegeschichtlichen Forschungen ausgehend wieder mehrere der Reichenau zugeschrieben (Texte und Arbeiten herausgegeben durch die Erzabtei Beuron. 1. Abteilung. Heft 3 4. 1918, und Heft. 10/11. 1924). Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht ganz erwehren, dass je nach dem Ort, um den die Untersuchungen des einzelnen Forschers sich drehen, auch die Antwort auf die Frage nach der Heimat der Handschriften ausgefallen ist. Zwingende Beweise für die Zuweisung sind in den jeweiligen Fällen nicht beigebracht worden. Auf sichererem Boden steht hier allein Preisendanz, der jedenfalls bei der einen oder anderen Handschrift entscheidende Merkmale ausfindig gemacht hat, wenn auch unter seinen Zuweisungen noch fragliche bleiben (Die Handschriften der Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe VII. Die Reichenauer Handschriften. Band III 1918. S. 132 ff.).

Aber gerade eine von den in Betracht kommenden Handschriften, die zwar später in Konstanz war, aber nachweislich Reichenauer Erzeugnis ist, spricht für die Brauchbarkeit der

Anhaltspunkte, die für die Entscheidung der Ursprungsfrage vorhanden sind. Der Stuttgarter cod. H. B. VII 12, saec IX, Epistolae Hieronymi, stammt aus Weingarten und hat den Eintrag « Monasterii Weingartensis 1630 ». Das Buch kam also aus Konstanz und ist auch im Konstanzer Katalog von 1343 zu finden. Die nächstliegende Annahme wäre demnach, dass die Handschrift in Konstanz geschrieben worden ist. Nun hat aber Preisendanz (a. a. O. S. 133) festgestellt, dass das Inhaltsverzeichnis Reginbert zum Schreiber hat, die Handschrift also zweifellos der Reichenau zugewiesen werden muss. Preisendanz kann auch nachweisen, dass sie in Katalog der unter Abt Ruadhelm (838-842) geschriebenen Bücher aufgeführt ist. Aber die Zugehörigkeit zur Reichenau ist in der Handschrift selbst auch ausdrücklich festgehalten, indem der Inhaltsangabe auf der letzten Seite beigefügt ist: *Liber Monasterii Augie maioris*. Ebenso trägt der Konstanzer Katalog von 1343 dieser Tatsache Rechnung, indem er beifügt: *ut videtur pertinens monasterio Augiae maioris*. Wenn somit bei einem Stück, das der Schrift nach für die Reichenau gesichert ist, auch die Herkunftsangaben im Buch selbst und im Katalog diesen Ursprung ausdrücklich betonen, so spricht doch einige Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass die andern Handschriften, bei denen nichts dergleichen zutrifft, zunächst einmal als in einer Konstanzer Schreibschule entstanden angesehen werden dürfen, von Ausnahmen natürlich abgesehen.

Freilich ist die Annahme einer Konstanzer Schreibschule in Karolingischer Zeit sehr umstritten. Urkundliche Beweise für ihr Bestehen haben wir bis jetzt nicht. Auch wird das Bemühen, die Schriftdenkmäler der Bodenseegegend, wo die alten Kultursitze Konstanz, St. Gallen und Reichenau so nahe bei einander liegen und natürlich auch manche Wanderungen von einem zum andern stattgefunden haben, auseinanderzuhalten, noch dadurch erschwert, dass gerade in der vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Zeit wiederholt ein und derselbe Mann Bischof von Konstanz und Abt von einem der beiden oder selbst von beiden Klöstern war, was es natürlich dem Bischof leicht machte, ein Buch aus einem Kloster sich für sein Kapitel zu sichern. Aehnliche Dinge beklagt vor allem die Chronik des Gallus Oehem für die Reichenau, womit wohl eine alte Ueberlieferung von dort wiedergegeben ist. Die Chronik be-

richtet, dass das Kloster Bände zum Abschreiben nach Konstanz geliehen, aber nicht mehr zurückbekommen habe. Auf diese Weise mögen die oben erwähnten Briefe des Hieronymus nach Konstanz gekommen sein.

Nun ist die Nachricht von der Entleihung Reichenauer Handschriften durch Konstanz, ganz abgesehen von der Frage der tatsächlichen Richtigkeit dieses erst aus späterer Zeit erhaltenen Berichtes, sehr verschieden gedeutet worden. Der Eine zieht daraus, dass die Handschriften in Konstanz behalten wurden, den Schluss, dass in Konstanz keine Schreibstube bestanden habe; man habe die Bücher nicht abschreiben lassen können und sei deshalb gezwungen gewesen, sie zu behalten, weil man eben keine Abschreiber gehabt habe. Dagegen folgert ein Anderer aus demselben Bericht, dass in Konstanz eine Schreibschule bestanden haben müsse. Immerhin scheint diese zweite Auffassung näher zu liegen. Der Bischof konnte dem Kloster kaum weismachen, dass er die entliehenen Handschriften abschreiben lassen wolle und sie deshalb mitnehmen müsse, wenn er in Konstanz keine Schreibstube oder keinen Schreiber für diesen Zweck hatte, was dem in nächster Nähe gelegenen Kloster doch kaum verborgen geblieben wäre.

Aber schliesslich enthält auch eine der fraglichen Handschriften selbst eine Angabe, die wenigstens nach der einfachsten Erklärung einen urkundlichen Beweis für Konstanzer Schreibtätigkeit und sogar den Namen eines Schreibers beibringt. Die Stuttgarter Handschrift H. B. VII 39 hat am Schluss folgende Angabe: *Wolfleoz, venerandus episcopus, me ac multos meliores fieri iussit... Nec lateat nomen scriptoris. Engilhartus me penna coloravit illiusque factis gero verborum elementa.* Wolfleoz ist der Konstanzer Bischof, der 816 den vorher zugleich innegehabten Reichenauer Abtstuhl aufgeben musste. Er liess also als Bischof Handschriften abschreiben, eben weil er die Klosterbücher, die er gewohnt war, nicht mehr zur Verfügung hatte. Freilich konnte der Bischof die Bücher auch in den Nachbarklöstern abschreiben lassen, und man hat schon darauf hingewiesen, dass die Nachricht, er habe Bücher schreiben lassen, nicht beweise, dass dies in Konstanz geschehen sei. Dann hätte er aber die Handschriften nicht eigens von den Klöstern als Vorlage mitnehmen brauchen, was wiederholt ausdrücklich betont wird. Man wird demnach wohl eine Kon-

stanzer Schreibstube annehmen müssen. Auch die Erklärung, die Merton daran knüpft, Wolfleoz habe die Schreibschule erst ins Leben gerufen, ist nicht durchaus notwendig; sie kann wohl schon vorher bestanden haben. Eine gewisse Stütze für Konstanz bringt dann noch der Name des Schreibers, Engilhart. Wir wissen ja freilich nichts Näheres von ihm und den Namen selbst haben die « libri confraternitatum » nicht selten. Immerhin findet sich dort in der Liste der « Nomina Canonicorum de Constantia », die mit dem Namen des Nachfolgers des 839 gestorbenen Wolfleoz beginnt, ein « diaconus Engilhartus ». Allerdings ist auffällig, dass unser diaconus — wenn es der ist, der unter Wolfleoz die Bücher schrieb — nicht schon in der vorangehenden Liste, die mit Wolfleoz selbst beginnt, aufgeführt ist.

Ganz sichere Beweise für eine Konstanzer Schreibschule lassen sich also aus urkundlichen Ueberlieferungen nicht beibringen. Aber immerhin sind Anhaltspunkte genug vorhanden, die für die Annahme einer solchen grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit sprechen lassen. Um gleich von vornherein die Frage zu entscheiden, ob es wahrscheinlich oder als unwahrscheinlich zu erklären ist, dass an einem Ort wie Konstanz, in nächster Nähe von Abteien wie St. Gallen und Reichenau auch eine selbständige Schreibschule sich befand, dazu sind im einzelnen unsere kulturgeschichtlichen Kenntnisse der Zeit nicht vollständig genug. Wohl stammt die Hauptmasse der auf uns gekommenen Bücherschätze der karolingischen Zeit aus Klöstern, aber von dem einen oder andern Bischofsitz sind doch auch gesicherte Erzeugnisse bekannt.

Was sagen nun die Schriftdenkmäler selbst in dieser Frage aus? In der Stuttgarter Landesbibliothek findet sich unter den Weingartner Beständen, die das Kloster 1630 von Konstanz erworben hatte, wie schon oben gesagt, eine ziemlich grosse Zahl von Handschriften aus karolingischer Zeit, die zusammen mit den Stücken, die aus dieser Sammlung an andere Bibliotheken gekommen sind, hauptsächlich Fulda und Darmstadt, etwa zwei Dutzend ergeben. Sieht man von den wenigen an nicht-württembergische Bibliotheken gekommenen Handschriften ab und scheidet von Anfang an solche aus, deren Entstehung in Konstanz an sich unwahrscheinlich oder anderorts festgelegt ist, wie z. B. Stuttgart H. B. XIV 1 (Weingarten

G 42) [1], Alkuins Vita Willibrordi, mit einer ganz eigenartigen Ornamentik und fremden Schrift, H B. II 16 (Weingarten A 22), was als Theodulfbibel wohl auch nicht in Konstanz entstanden sein wird, oder den Oribasius, H. B. XI 8 (Weingarten K 52), der sich im Konstanzer Katalog von 1343 nicht findet, oder die oben erwähnten Briefe des Hieronymus, H. B. VII 12 (Weingarten D 12), die in Reichenau geschrieben sind, so bleibt von den Stuttgarter Beständen noch folgende Reihe:

1. H. B. II Bibl. 35 (Weingarten A 36), Biblia, V. T. ab Ecclesiaste ad Nehemiam. 132 Blätter, 27,5 × 19, bezw. 22 × 14,5 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog von 1343 (a. a. O. S. 194, Z. 7): *liber Biblie ab Ecclesiasten usque ad Neomiam de litera antiqua*.

2. H. B. II Bibl. 54 (Weingarten A 30), Epistolae Pauli, actus apostolorum, epistolae canonicae et apocalypsis, 259 Blätter, 29,7 × 20,5, bezw. 22 × 14, 7 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 195, Z. 28): *epistole Pauli et actus apostolorum et apochalipsis in uno volumine de litera antiqua* [2].

3. H. B. IV Cod. hermeneutici 8 (Weingarten B 71), Glossa in Exodum et Leviticum, 108 Blätter, 29 × 18,4. bezw. 21,5 × 12 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 194, Z. 3): *glosa super exodum et leviticum in uno volumine de litera antiqua*.

4. H. B. VI Cod. iurid. 109 (Weingarten C 5), Capitula et canones conciliorum diversorum et alia, 138 Blätter, 22 × 13,5, bezw. 17,5 × 10 cm.; wahrscheinlich = Konstanzer Katalog: *liber canonum diversorum principum et conciliorum de litera antiquissima* (a. a. O. S. 198, Z. 19).

5. H. B. VII Patres. 4 (Weingarten D 50), Johannis Chrysostomi homiliae in ev. Matthaei et Lucae, 142 Blätter, 24, 7 × 15. bezw. 19 × 11; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 196, Z. 10): *liber Iohannis qui vocatur os aureum*, mit einer Inhaltsangabe, die mit der im Buch vorn gegebenen völlig übereinstimmt.

6. H. B. VII Patres. 9 (Weingarten B 67), Hieronymus, Commentaria in evang. Matthaei, 171 Blätter, 30,5 × 17,5,

(1) Zu den alten Weingartner Signaturen vergl. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 41, 1912.

(2) Eine andere Handschrift des gleichen Inhalts im alten St. Galler Katalog der Grimalt-bücher (a. a. O. S. 83, Z. 29) ist heute in St. Gallen. Eine Vergleichung der Beiden wäre wohl nicht ohne Interesse.

bezw. 23,7 × 14 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 195, Z. 17): *commentum Ieronimi super Mattheum et Marcum evangelistas*, womit auch wieder die Inhaltsangabe des Titelstreifens auf dem Hinterdeckel übereinstimmt.

7. H. B. VII Patres. 17 (Weingarten B 78), Augustinus, In evangelium Iohannis, 232 Blätter, 26,5 × 17,5, bezw. 20,5 × 13 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 195, Z. 16): *expositio Agustini super Iohannem de litera antiqua.*

8. H. B. VII Patres. 25 (Weingarten B 95), Gregorius, Moralia, pars III, 271 Blätter, 25,3 × 16,4, bezw. 18 × 11-12 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 194, Z. 36): *tercia pars moralium Iob de litera antiqua, recenti tamen adhuc* (1).

9. H. B. VII Patres. 26 (Weingarten B 81), Gregorius, Moralia, pars IV, 220 Blätter, 26 × 17, bezw. 21 × 13,5 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 195, Z. 8): *quarta pars moralium Gregorii super Iob* (2).

10. H. B. VII Patres. 28 (Weingarten B 82), Gregorius, Homiliae in Ezechielem, liber I, 168 Blätter, 26,7 × 16, bezw. 19,5 × 11,5 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 194, Z. 17): *Expositio super Ezechielem de litera antiqua* (3).

11. H. B. VII Patres. 39 (Weingarten B 57), Beda, Commentarius in Salomonis proverbia, libri III, 76 Blätter 32,2 × 21,2, bezw. 25 × 16 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 194, Z. 29): *liber venerabilis Bede presbiteri super librum Salomonis qui dicitur proverbia*, mit genau der gleichen Fassung des Titels wie in der Handschrift selbst am Anfang (4).

(1) Eine Handschrift mit dem gleichen Inhalt ist allerdings auch im Reichenauer Katalog aufgeführt (a. a. O. S. 246, Z. 13), aber sie findet sich heute noch in Karlsruhe unter den Reichenauer Beständen (Die Reichenauer Handschriften, Bd. 5, S. 2).

(2) Einträge am Schluss, die auf ein Benediktinerkloster zu weisen scheinen, könnten daran denken lassen, in der Handschrift den in Karlsruhe fehlenden 4. Teil der Reichenauer Moralia-bände zu sehen; aber das Format passt gar nicht in die Reihe der dörtigen Bände hinein.

(3) Oder wäre es die Handschrift des alten St. Galler Katalogs (a. a. O. S. 72, Z. 21), die der Gemahlin Karls des Dicken überlassen war? Jedenfalls gehört sie der Schrift nach in unsere Reihe.

(4) Allerdings führt sowohl ein alter Reichenauer Katalog (S. 249, Z. 28) wie ein St. Galler (S. 75, Z. 12) eine Handschrift des gleichen Inhalts auf, die beide sich heute unter diesen Beständen nicht mehr finden. Aber zum Konstanzer Ursprung unserer Handschrift vergleiche das oben Ausgeführte.

12. H. B. VII Patres. 41 (Weingarten B 96), Beda, Commentarius in apocalypsin et actus apostolorum, 148 Blätter, 25,6 × 17,5. bezw. 18,6 × 12,4 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 195, Z. 27): *exposicio Bede super apochalipsim et super actus apostolorum de litera antiqua.*

13. H. B. VII Patres. 64 (Weingarten G 33), Eusebius, Ecclesiasticae historiae libri V priores cum praefatione ad Chromatium, 145 Blätter, 24,3 × 20,6. bezw. 19 × 14,5 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 197, Z. 2): *quinque libri historie ecclesiastice in uno volumine et deficiunt VI* (¹).

14. H. B. XIV Vitae Sanctorum. 14 (Weingarten G 23), Vitae sanctorum, 220 Blätter, 29 × 24,5, bezw. 21,5 × 17,5 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 198, Z. 6): *liber de passione beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum mediocris voluminis de litera antiqua,* mit einer Inhaltsangabe, die an die auf Bl. 2 oben von einer Hand des 14. Jahrhunderts: *Passionale sanctorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum sanctorum,* anklingt (²).

Als 15 könnte der Reihe noch angefügt werden:

H. B. VII Patres. 21 (Weingarten D 52) Augustinus, Quaestiones 82 et libri 2 contra adversarium legis et prophetarum, 174 Blätter, 24,8 × 16,5, bezw. 19 × 11,5 cm.; im Konstanzer Katalog (S. 195, Z. 33): *Questiones beati Agustini numero octaginta due,* womit also der 2. Teil übergangen wäre. Auch von K. Preisendanz wird H. B. VII 21 mit dieser Handschrift des Konstanzer Katalogs gleichgesetzt, zugleich aber auch mit einer des ersten Reichenauer Katalogs (a. a. O. S. 136): *Quaestionum LXXXIII et contra adversarium legis etc. lib. II in codice I,* deren Inhaltsangabe also genau übereinstimmen würde, mit Ausnahme der Zahl 83 statt 82 (es sind tatsächlich 83, aber im Titel vorn sind nur 82 genannt). Dann müsste die Handschrift aber vor 820 geschrieben sein, was der Schrift

(¹) Von A. Holder (Die Handschrifren der Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek, VII, p. 74) versehentlich einer Handschrift des alten Reichenauer Katalogs: *Historiae ecclesiasticae libr. IX et Ruffini interpretis eiusdem historiae lib. I in codice I,* gleichgesetzt, ein Irrtum, den schon K. Preisendanz (a. a. O. S. 132) richtig gestellt hat.

(²) Von K. Preisendanz (a. a. S. 138) der Reichenau zugewiesen wegen der Hand des Inhaltsverzeichnisses, die der eines Schülers von Reginbert, die auch Stücke von Stuttgart cod. theol. fol. 95 geschrieben hat, gleichgesetzt wird, was aber ein offenkundiges Versehen ist.

nach fraglich ist. Das Buch selbst scheint nicht selten gewesen zu sein; auch der alte St. Galler Katalog (a. a. O. S. 74, Z. 17) führt es auf. Immerhin ist hier die Sachlage im Vergleich mit den 14 anderen Handschriften weniger sicher, weshalb auch der folgenden Untersuchung nur die 14 ersten Stücke zu Grunde gelegt werden sollen.

Diese Liste von 14 Handschriften der Stuttgarter Landesbibliothek, die sich aus Fuldaer Beständen wohl noch um die eine oder andere Nummer vermehren liesse, stellt also eine Reihe von karolingischen Büchern dar, die aus Konstanz gekommen sind, in einem Konstanzer Katalog des 14 Jahrhunderts sich finden, dagegen — vielleicht abgesehen von überall verbreiteten — in St. Galler oder Reichenauer Katalogen der karolingischen Zeit nicht, oder, wenn sie dort auch aufgeführt werden, in heutigen Handschriften von Karlsruhe oder St. Gallen noch nachzuweisen sind. Die nächstliegende Annahme ist demnach, dass die 14 Handschriften in Konstanz geschrieben worden sind.

Es sei nun zunächst noch kurz die Frage berührt ob vielleicht die aüssere Beschaffenheit der Handschriften einen Anhaltspunkt für den Nachweis gemeinsamen Ursprungs ergiebt. Ein solches gemeinsames Merkmal wären etwa die Einbände, die offenkundig bei mehreren gleichartig sind; ihre Zusammengehörigkeit wird noch ganz schlagend erwiesen durch Stücke einer und derselben Itala-handschrift, die zum Binden dieser Bücher verwendet worden ist, so bei den Nummern 2, 8. 10, 11 und 14. Aber dieser Beweis der Zusammengehörigkeit geht nur bis ins 15 Jahrhundert zurück, in das diese Einbände zu setzen sind, und bringt für frühere Zeit nichts Neues bei. Auch die Untersuchung des Pergaments führt nicht viel weiter. Wir finden fast durchweg Pergament von mittlerer Güte. Einzelne Bände haben Blätter von sehr befriedigender Beschaffenheit, andere weniger gute; aber nirgends ganz hervorragende Auserlesenheit, die etwa auf ein besonders reichen Heimatsort deuten könnte. Den meisten Bänden gemeinsam ist ein Wechsel von dicken und dünnen Blättern, allen gemeinsam sind Löcher, bald häufiger, bald mehr vereinzelt. Endlich fällt bei einer grösseren Zahl die Verwendung eines ungenügend kalzinierten, deshalb glasig gewordenen Pergaments auf. Aber ein einheitliches hervorstechendes Merkmal für alle bietet die

Beschaffenheit des Pergaments nicht. Eher könnte man ein solches in den Massen finden. Es scheint eine gewisse Vorliebe für schmales, längliches Format vorzuliegen; man betrachte besonders die Nummern 3, 5, 6 und 11. Bei der Lagenzählung wird vorwiegend die Zählung durch römische Zahlen unten auf der letzten Seite angewandt, gelegentlich, z. B. bei Nro. 1 in Rot; seltener, nur bei 3, 6 und 15, durch Buchstaben, wie es gern St. Galler Handschriften der Zeit zeigen. Eine Eigenheit, die bei beiden Zählarten vorkommt, ist die Verzierung der Kustoden durch kleine Strichornamente, so bei 1, 3, 4 und 11.

Klare, zwingende, einheitliche Merkmale für eine besondere Schreibschule ergeben sich also aus diesen äusserlichen Seiten der Handschriften nicht. Bleibt als Hauptaufgabe, auf die diese einzelnen Betrachtungen nur vorbereiten sollten, die Schriftuntersuchung.

Die 14 Handschriften zerfallen in 2 scharf von einander getrennte Gruppen. Die erste wird aus Stücken gebildet, die klar und deutlich auf vorkarolingischer Stufe stehen. Die zweite zeigt ausgeprägte karolingische Minuskel.

Der ersten Gruppe gehören die Nummern 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9 und 10 an. Zur Veranschaulichung der Schrift dienen mehr als alle Worte getraue Wiedergaben und so wird diese erste Gruppe durch 2 Tafeln vorgeführt. Das 2 Stück der Gruppe, H. B. II 54, ist der Forschung schon in Abbildungen zugänglich, die sich in dem Buch von Merton finden (Tafel V und VI); die dortige zuweisung an St. Gallen vom kunstgeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus ist an sich sehr ansprechend, aber meines Erachtens ohne durchaus bindenden Beweis erfolgt ([1]). Die Nummern 7, 8, 9 und 10 sind schon in der Zeitschrift für Buchkunde (Jahrgang 1, 1924, S. 101 ff.) in anderem Zusammenhang behandelt und dort teilweise mit Tafeln vertreten. Um also möglichst viele Schriftproben allgemeiner Beurteilung zugänglich zu machen, seien hier die beiden übrig bleibenden Handschriften durch Abbildungen veranschaulicht.

Tafel I giebt von der Handschrift H. B. II 35, die übri-

([1]) Eine eingehende Einzelbehandlung dieser Handschrift dürfte sich wohl lohnen und ergäbe vielleicht durch genauere Untersuchung der zahlreichen Nameneinträge auch weitere Sicherung der Ursprungsfrage.

gens mehrere Hände aufweist, die Vorderseite von Blatt 89 wieder. Die Seite zeigt ein ruhiges Bild von geschlossenen, durch Zwischenräume klar getrennten Zeilen im Vierlinienschema mit Buchstaben von gleichmässigen, gefälligen, wohlabgewogenen Formen mit nicht allzu zahlreichen Verbindungen. Im Einzelnen sei hingewiesen auf die Form des *y* und *z*, ferner auf das *g* (dessen beide Bogen offen sind; vereinzelt erscheint auch Majuskel *G*), und auf den oft nach rechts gerichteten letzten Schaft des *m*; *s* und *r* gehen gern unter die Zeile, beim letzteren Buchstaben holt der Schulterstrich mit weitem Bogen aus; beim *t* ist der Querbalken leicht geschwungen und vorn oft herabgeneigt. Aber bestimmt wird das Gepräge der Tafel durch das *a* in der Form von 2 *c*, die sich oben und unten berühren; diese Form wiegt ausschlaggebend vor und die wenigen Unzial-*a* verschwinden ganz daneben. Von Ligaturen tritt neben dem geschwänzten *e* das *e* auf in Verbindung mit *t*, *x* und *c*; bei einer anderen Hand kommt dazu noch *r* in Verbindung mit vorangehendem oder nachfolgendem *e*; *st* erscheint eben so oft in Ligatur, wie getrennt; selten findet sich die Verbindung *ct* und *rt* und endlich, aber nicht bei allen Händen, *nt* mit gestürztem *t*. Ausserdem wäre noch zu erwähnen, dass die Zunge des *e* meist zur Verbindung mit dem folgenden Buchstaben benützt wird.

Nicht unerwähnt bleibe die Eigentümlichkeit des Textes, dass manchmal *e* und *i*, *o* und *u* verwechselt wird, z. B *comprehindi*, *popillos*; und endlich sei auf die gelegentlichen althochdeutschen Glossen hingewiesen, z. B auf Blatt 36ᵛ und 83ʳ, bei denen Formen wie *haber* über *autem* besonders merkwürdig sind. Diese Auffälligkeiten liessen auf einen romanischen Schreiber schliessen.

Tafel II giebt aus H. B. VII 9 die Vorderseite von Blatt 79. Das Bild der Tafel ist weniger befriedigend als bei der I. Die grössere Unruhe kommt nicht allein von den Vokalakzenten, die wir auch sonst gelegentlich bei Handschriften dieser Gruppe finden, sondern auch von der weniger gefälligen Schrift. Die Rundungen der kleineren, niederer gehaltenen und breitgedrückten Buchstaben sind weniger sorgfältig gezeichnet. Aber der Grundcharakter der Formen ist der gleiche. Wieder wird das Bild weithin bestimmt durch das *a* in der Form von 2 *c*, die aber hier sich oben nicht berühren; doch kommt das Un-

zial-*a* weniger selten vor. Wieder fällt die Form des *t* auf, dessen Querbalken hier oft nicht blos herabgebogen wird, sondern eine Schleife mit dem Schaft bildet; daneben finden sich aber auch ganz geradlinige Querbalken. Auch wieder sei hingewiesen auf die Form des *z*, auf das *g* (dessen Bogen oben und unten offen sind; auch hier erscheint wieder vereinzelt Majuskel-*G*), und auf den nach rechts gerichteten Schlussschaft des *m*. Wieder verbindet die Zunge des *e* mit dem folgenden Buchstaben, ebenso findet sich wieder die Buchstabenverbindung von *e* mit *t*, *c* und *x*, sowie das geschwänzte *e* und endlich das *n* mit dem gestürzten *t*. Sehr häufig ist hier die Verbindung der *r* mit angehängtem *i*. *St* bildet Ligatur, *ct* erscheint sowohl in Ligatur, wie getrennt.

Der Abkürzungsstrich ist sowohl wagrecht wie nach oben gerichtet. Die Handschrift verwendet verhältnismässig wenig Abkürzungen.

So verschieden also auf den ersten Blick der Eindruck der Schriftbilder aus den beiden Handscriften ist, im Grundcharakter stimmen sie überein. Das Gleiche ist der Fall bei den übrigen 5 Stücken. Ihre Besonderheiten seien noch kurz zusammengestellt. Die eine oder andere enthält noch mehr Reste aus der Kursive. So finden wir das *o* mit der Verlängerung der beiden Bogen über den Scheitel hinaus, besonders in Ligaturen, gelegentlich bei VII 17, 25 und 28; dazu tritt das kursive *e*, hoch und eingekerbt, bei VII 25 und bei II 54. Letztere Handschrift hat ausserdem eine besondere Eigentümlichkeit mit ihren Explicit-zeilen, die durch ihren kursiven Charakter sich deutlich vom anderen Text abheben. Offenes *a* übergeschrieben vor *n* haben auch wieder die 3 Handschriften VII 17, 25 und 28; VII 25 benützt ausserdem neben dem cc-*a* das offene *a* ohne die Knöpfe oben. Die letztere Handschrift hat mit VII 28 zusammen für *ae* das *e* mit der angehängten Birne (Palae. Lat. I pl. 1 30). Die Form der « whipshafts » (Palae. Lat. I, 12 § 10) finden wir bei VII 17 und VII 25. Die nach mehrfach geäusserter Ansicht als burgundisch angesehene Eigentümlichkeit der Linksbiegung des oberen Teils vom Schaft des *h* kommt bei VII 17 vor. Nicht ohne Interesse für die Geschichte der Ligaturen *st* und *ct* in karolingischer Zeit ist die Beobachtung, dass in VII 25 und VII 26 die Verbindungen vielfach von einer späteren Hand nachgezogen sind, während

die daneben in VII 25 von dem ursprünglichen Schreiber gebildete Ligatur nur ganz vereinzelt auftritt. Gegenüber den beiden durch Tafeln veranschaulichten Handschriften weisen mehrere der anderen besonders auch die Verbindung des *r* mit dem folgenden Vokal, aber auch Konsonanten in viel grösserer Häufigkeit auf. Endlich soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass in VII 17, 25 und 28 ähnliche auf romanische Schreiber oder auf romanisches Sprachgebiet weisende Eigentümlichkeiten der Textform sich finden, wie sie schon oben bei II 35 angeführt worden sind.

Die in dieser Gruppe von Handschriften vertretene Schriftart ist ja nicht unbekannt. Schon Traube hat 1898 ihr Gebiet umschrieben mit der Schreibprovinz Chur-St. Gallen-Reichenau-Murbach (Münchener Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse. Band 21); 1913 ist von Durrer, ausgehend von Chur, der Name « rätische Schrift » geprägt worden (Festgabe für Gerold Meyer von Knonau); und zuletzt ist von Steinacker mit Erweiterung ihres Gebiets und ihrer Bedeutung der Vorschlag gemacht worden, sie als südfrankische Minuskel der nordfränkischen gegenüberzustellen, wobei auch der seitherigen Auffassung, die von der Form des *a* ausgehend, in der Hauptsache die Anregung zu dieser Schriftform südlich der Alpen suchte, die Andeutung entgegengesetzt wurde, dass ihre eigentliche Ursprungsstätte vielleicht eher diesseits der Alpen zu finden wäre (Studi e Testi, 40, Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle IV, S. 153). Dass wir sie so ausgeprägt in der Bodenseegegend treffen, ist wohl für diese Ursprungsfrage nicht ohne Bedeutung.

Auf alle Fälle war diese Schrift, in einer Ausprägung, wie sie vielleicht am schönsten VII 17 zeigt, ästhetisch betrachtet der anderen, die später den Sieg über sie davontrug, der karolingischen Minuskel, durchaus ebenbürtig. Sie besitzt alle die Vorzüge, die nach der letzten und bündigsten Kennzeichnung durch Lehmann (Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, hg. v. Gercke und Norden. I Band. 10 Heft. S. 67) der letzeren zugeschrieben verden: « wohlproportionierte Buchstaben, Regelmässigkeit des Schriftbildes, gefälligen Wechsel von Rundungen, senkrechten und schrägen Linien, harmonische Verteilung von zartem und festem Federdruck, klares Nebeinander der einzelnen Buchstaben, die nur in verhältnismässig wenigen bestimmten Fällen formverandernd sich ligieren, gelegentlich

sich berühren oder einfache Verbindungslinien haben. Zierat und Schnörkel weitgehend vermeiden ». Der schwächste Punkt dieser sog. rätischen Schrift war aber eben der Buchstabe, der bei den Versuchen der Schriftreform die Hauptschwierigkeit machte, das *a*, das hier von zwei *c* zu schlecht zu unterscheiden war. An diesem Buchstaben setzte dann auch die karolingische Minuskel ein, indem sie dem Unzial-*a*, das auch schon in der « rätischen » Schrift, allerdings meist ganz vereinzelt, sich gezeigt hatte, zum Siege verhalf.

Dieser Siegeszug lässt sich nun auch in der Reihe von karolingischen Handschriften, die hier der Konstanzer Schreibschule zugewiesen werden, sehr deutlich verfolgen. Zunächst sind solche festzustellen, in denen das Unzial-*a* immer mehr vordrängt gegen das *cc-a*, das ja selbst auch der früh-karolingischen Minuskel (so im Godescalc-Evangeliar) durchaus nicht unbekannt war. Dieser Uebergangsgruppe gehören die 2 Nummern 5 und 12 an, deren eine, H. B. VII 41, durch Tafeln III (= Rückseite von Blatt 27) veranschaulicht wird. Das Unzial-*a*, dessen besondere Form hier mit dem bis zum Anfang des Schaftes hochgezogenen Bauch zu beachten ist, erscheint etwa doppelt so oft als die alte Form. Ein Grund für die Wahl des einen oder anderen *a* ist schwer festzustellen, und beide Formen wechseln auch bei einem und demselben Wort (vergleiche *angelus* mit der einen unmittelbar neben *angelus* mit der anderen). Andere Wörter werden dagegen immer mit einer und derselben Form geschrieben und beweisen für einzelne Verbindungen eine gewisse Vorliebe für eine derselben (z. B. wird die Praepositio *ad* immer mit dem *cc-a* geschrieben). Die Verbindung mit *c*, wo die *cc*-Form an sich eigentlich nicht zweckmässig scheinen sollte, wird durchaus nicht gescheut (s. *facta*). Andererseits aber ist sich der Schreiber des Missstands wohl bewusst, der in der Gefahr der Verwechslung von *cc-a* und *cc* als Doppelkonsonant liegt, und zeichnet gelegentlich zur Unterscheidung in dem Doppelkonsonanten ein *c* in der alten Kursivform. Nur wo *a* und zwei *c* zusammenstossen, wird für den Vokal immer die Unzialform gewählt. Wie *a*, tritt gelegentlich auch *d* in der Unzialform auf. Das *e*, dessen Zunge wie in der ersten Gruppe immer zur Verbindung benützt wird, erscheint in den alten Ligaturen mit *c*, *t* und *x*. Hingewiesen sei auch auf die Verbindung *eu* in *aureum*. *Ct* kommt nicht in

Ligatur vor, dagegen *st* und gelegentlich *rt*. Das *m*, dessen zwei vordere Schäfte noch gern einwärts gebogen auftreten, zeigt am letzten Schaft oft einen Abstrich, ausnahmsweise auch an den vorderen; *g* ist jetzt oben und unten geschlossen und der Querbalken von *t* wird nicht mehr eingebogen; *r* und *s* bleiben auf der Zeile, ersteres ist unten gern zugespitzt. Ausser mässig verdickten Oberlängen finden sich auch hier noch manchmal Reste von whipshafts.

Der Uebergangscharakter unserer Handschrift zeigt sich besonder auch darin, dass der Schlussteil, der von einer anderen Hand geschrieben ist, schon lauter Unzial-*a* hat.

Aehnliche Art weist VII 4 auf, dessen alte *cc-a*-Form aber oben keine Knöpfe hat, und wo neben dem Unzial-*d* besonders auch sehr viele Majuskel-*n* verwendet werden, zugleich gelegentlich in Ligatur mit *r* auch das kursive *o* noch vorkommt.

Immer entschiedeneren Sieg des Unzial-*a* künden die Nummern 13, wo nur eine einzige der verschiedenen Hände noch offenes *a* verwendet, noch ausgeprägter, unter voller Ablehnung der alten *a*-Form die Nummern 3, 4 und endlich 14, wo schon Formen herrschen, wie sie St. Gallen in der 2 Hälfte des 9 Jahrhunderts aufweist.

Wann hat sich nun der volle Uebergang zur karolingischen Minuskel vollzogen? Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage bietet das einzige Stück aus dieser Konstanzer Gruppe, das seinen Schreiber nennt, einen wertvollen Beitrag. Das ist die schon oben besprochene Handschrift 11. Als Zeitraum, in dem sie geschrieben worden ist, ergiebt sich die Regierungszeit des Bischofs Wolfleoz, 811-839. Die ersten 5 Jahre war Wolfleoz zugleich Abt von St. Gallen; in der Schreibernotiz ist er ausdrücklich als Bischof bezeichnet. Es liegt also nahe, die Entstehung der Handschrift in die Zeit zu verlegen, da dem Bischof die Klosterbücher nicht mehr wie seither zu Verfügung standen und er anderseits einen solchen Mangel am lebhaftesten empfand, also nach seinem Rücktritt vom Abtsitz 816. Wir hätten damit in der 2 Hälfte des 2 oder 4 Jahrzehnts in Konstanz schon ausgeprägte karolingische Minuskel, die durch Tafel IV (= VII 39, Blatt 44^r veranschaulicht wird. Die Seite giebt zugleich die Möglichkeit, eine bestimmte Schreiberpersönlichkeit, den Engilhartus, zu kennzeichnen. Seine Hand, die eine ziem-

lich kleine, aber mit verhältnismässig grossen Oberlängen versehene und gegenüber der seitherigen Schrift spitze, an die westfränkische Schrift erinnernde, Minuskel schreibt, ist vor allem zu erkennen an dem eigentümlichen *d*, dessen Bogen oben nicht unmittelbar am Schaft ansetzt, sondern zunächst eine Lücke lässt, die dann erst durch einen Verbindungsansatz vom Schaft aus wieder teilweise geschlossen wird. Die gleiche Eigentümlichkeit erscheint manchmal auch bei *q*. Ebenso ist bei *a*, das ohne eine einzige Ausnahme immer in der karolingischen Form auftritt, der Bogen oft nicht ganz geschlossen, während er anderseits so weit hinaufgeht, dass der Buchstabe eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit mit der Halbunziale bekommt.

Aber auch Engilhartus hat noch mancherlei Reminiszenzen an ältere Formen. Neben der, allerdings nur mässig durchgeführten, keulenförmigen Verdickung der Oberlängen, wie sie die frühkarolingischen Handschriften zeigen, finden sich noch manche « whipshafts »; *g* hat noch etwas altertümliche Gestalt; bei *m* biegen die zwei vorderen, spitz zulaufenden Schäfte nach links ein, an den letzten wird gelegentlich ein *i* unten angehängt. Ziemlich weit unter die Zeile geht das *f*, dessen Querstrich zur Verbindung benützt wird. Zu beachten ist auch, dass *h* und *l* unten manchmal ein Eck zeigen, dass bei *n* der erste Schaft gern etwas gebogen erscheint und beide Schäfte, wie auch der von *i*, oben gern einen Anstrich haben, endlich dass manchmal, wie auch sonst gelegentlich in Konstanzer Handschriften, sich eine Vorliebe für Majuskel-*G* zeigt.

Neben der Ligatur *et* ist die von *st* durchgeführt; dagegen bleibt *ct* unverbunden.

Diese ausgeprägte karolingische Minuskel, die wir hiemit in Konstanz nach der spätesten Ansetzung vor 840, nach einer eben so wohl möglichen, vor 820 hätten, ist wohl zu beachten, besonders wenn daran gedacht wird, dass in St. Gallen der viel später schreibende Wanning gar nicht selten noch das alte « rätische » *a* hat. Man könnte daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass in Konstanz die karolingische Form wesentlich früher durchgedrungen wäre als in St. Gallen. Freilich ist hier Vorsicht angezeigt, ehe ein allgemeines Urteil ausgesprochen wird; denn vielleicht liegt nur persönliche Vorliebe von Engilhart vor oder war dieser gar aus Westfranken gekommen, wie seine spitze Minuskel denken lassen könnte. Es ist oft schwer Merk-

male, die einem einzelnen Schreiber eigen sind, und solche, die eine ganze Schule kennzeichnen, scharf auseinander zu halten. Gilt dies doch für ganz grundlegende Kriterien. So sehr es eine Binsenwahrheit ist, dass gegenüber der runden karolingischen oder romanischen Minuskel das Wesen der gotischen in der gebrochenen Linie liegt, so wenig kann im einzelnen Fall ohne weiteres aus dem Grad der Durchführung der Brechung mit Sicherkeit auf die Zeit geschlossen werden. Wir finden schon in manchen karolingischen Handschriften Schreiber, die eine entschiedene Neigung zum Umbrechen haben. So ist auch bei der Frage des Sieges der karolingischen Minuskel in Konstanz Engilhart allein natürlich nicht ausschlaggebend. Aber wir haben auch Handschriften von ganz anderen Händen mit diesem Charakter, z. B. das letzte Stück in unserer Liste, das Preisendanz auch in den Anfang des Jahrhunderts setzt, allerdings mit Zuweisung an die Reichenau, was aber hier nicht ganz sicher zu sein scheint.

Wenn in dieser Frage, und überhaupt bei dem Versuch, Konstanzer Schreibgut vom Reichenauer und St. Galler zu scheiden, eine abschliessende Lösung gefunden werden soll, müssen erst diese beiden letzteren Schulen selbst nach ihrer Entwicklung in karolingischer Zeit vorher endgültig klar gezeichnet sein, was noch nicht der Fall ist. Bis jetzt wird sich nur so viel sagen lassen, dass beide auch zunächst « rätische » Schrift zeigen — was wohl kaum mehr ernstlich angefochten werden kann, wenn es auch für die Reichenau gelegentlich noch bezweifelt wird —, und dass beide später zur karolingischen Schrift übergehen, zunächst Reichenau, wohl schon im 3 Jahrzehnt; später St. Gallen, wo « rätische » Schrift in starker Nachwirkung sich noch in der 2 Hälfte des Jahrhunderts findet Konstanz würde also mehr an der Seite der Reichenau bleiben, was auch in der nachbarlichen Lage begründet wäre, wie andererseits diese Lage selbst bei St. Gallen, das dem mutmasslichen Ausgangspunkt der « rätischen » Schrift (der freilich noch nicht sicher genug nachgewiesen ist!), Chur, näher liegt, mit dem stärkeren Festhalten an der alten Form im Einklang wäre.

Zum Schluss möge zur Klärung der Frage der Konstanzer Schreibschule, für die so wenig feste Handhaben zur Verfügung stehen, noch ein kurzer Blick auf die Ornamentik ge-

worfen werden, obgleich dieses Gebiet unserer Zeitschrift ferner liegt. Aber eine endgültige Lösung kann nur erhofft werden, wenn kunstgeschichtliche, bibliotheksgeschichtliche und palaeographische Untersuchungen sich gegenseitig ergänzen. Die seitherige Behandlung der unsicheren Stücke aus dem Streitgebiet St. Gallen-Reichenau-Konstanz war gerade darin anfechtbar, dass nur je eine Seite der Sache ins Auge gefasst war, wie schon einleitend erwähnt worden ist.

Die Handschriftengruppe, die hier für Konstanz in Anspruch genommen wird, zeigt in ihrer Mehrheit eine entschiedene Vorliebe für Ornamentik, insbesondere für Initialornamentik. Eine bildliche Darstellung bringt nur die 2 Nummer, die, wie oben angeführt, von kunsthistorischer Seite St. Gallen zugewiesen wurde. Es mag deshalb dieses Bild als unsicher hier ausser Betracht bleiben; auch könnte es meines Erachtens eine, möglicherweise nachträglich eingezeichnete, Kopie irgend einer karolingischen Vorlage sein. Aber auch in ihrer sehr reichen sonstigen Ornamentik mit Ziertiteln, Zierzeilen und grossen Initialen nimmt diese Handschrift in der Gruppe eine etwas besondere Stellung ein. Dass das Kolorit und die Formen das Gepräge der « merowingischen » Kunst tragen, ist natürlich keine besondere Merkwürdigkeit. Aber die Fisch-Initialen und überhaupt diese reichen und grossen Zierbuchstaben finden wir in den anderen Handschriften nicht mehr. Dagegen zeigen verschiedene Stücke der « rätischen » Gruppe eine im Grund ziemlich zusammengehende, ausgesprochene Freude an Zierformen in Farben der vorkarolingischen Kunst (s. Romanische Zierbuchstaben und ihre Vorläufer Stuttgart 1926, Tafel 2 und 3), gewöhnlich rot, gelb, grün, meist farbiges Flechtwerk oder Kreisbildungen; auch finden wir nicht selten, besonders in Incipit-Zeilen, die Buchstaben mit Farbe gefüllt, vorwiegend rot und gelb.

Von dieser Ornamentik heben sich einige grössere Initialen ab, die am ehesten an italienische Vorbilder denken lassen (S. a. a. O. Tafel 4 und 5). Dies wäre im Einklang mit den mancherlei Hinweisen auf romanisches Gebiet, die auch sonst zu finden waren, und würde wieder darauf hinweisen, dass in germanischen Gebieten der karolingischen Zeit benachbarte Romanen noch eine verhältnismässig grosse Rolle gespielt haben. Dabei wäre nicht nur an die Nachbarschaft des

angrenzenden romanischen Bistums Chur zu denken, sondern auch daran, dass bis zur karolingischen Zeit Konstanz der Metropole Besançon unterstellt war, woran auch die burgundischen Eigentümlichkeiten erinnern konnten; erst von der Wende des 8 zum 9 Jahrhunderts ab kam Konstanz zu Mainz.

In den andern Stücken, die durchgedrungene karolingische Minuskel zeigen, tritt, zunächst wenigstens, die Ornamentik zurück. Doch verdient auch hier die 13 Nummer eine besondere Erwähnung; sie zeigt in roten Federzeichnungen einige Tierformen (z. B. einen Hirsch) sehr geschickt zu Initialen verwendet (a. a. O. Tafel 29), in einer freien Weise, die keinerlei Schulabhängigkeit verrät und wohl ganz dem eigenen Schaffen des Künstlers entsprungen ist, also zur Kennzeichnung einer Schule nicht wohl verwendet werden kann.

Liste der Kürzungen

nach den in Palae. Lat. III 7 ausgeführten Grundsätzen).

Vorbemerkung:

Ob Kürzungen gebraucht werden und in welcher Häufigkeit hängt vielfach von dem Geschmack des Schreibers ab; Schulmerkmale lassen sich daraus allein kaum ableiten. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass neben den gekürzten auch die ausgeschriebenen Formen vorkommen, und nur in diesem Sinne ist die Liste zu verstehen, wenn auch bei einzelnen Wörtern die Kürzung das Gewöhnliche ist. Immerhin ergiebt sich auch aus dieser Betrachtung die behandelte Handschriftengruppe als zusammengehörig. Es sind in der grossen Mehrheit der Handschriften dieselben Wörter und Silben, die gekürzt werden, und in der Hauptsache auch mit den gleichen Formen. Am ehesten nimmt IV 8 eine Sonderstellung ein, wo ungewöhnlich wenige Kürzungen gebraucht werden, z. B. auch das sonst überall gekürzte *non* immer ausgeschrieben ist. Dieser Handschrift kann aus dem gleichen Grund noch II 35 angeschlossen werden. VI 109, das auch in der Schrift vielfach seine eigene Art hat, sondert sich auch in anderer Weise ab: es gebraucht durchaus die insulare Kürzung für *est*.

Auch die zwei Schichten der Gruppe lassen sich nach den Kürzungen verfolgen. Während die « Rätischen » fast durchweg au für *autem* und meist ōm für *omnes* kürzen, haben die « Karolingischen » meist aūt und beinahe durchweg ōms. Dass aber beide Schichten zeitlich nicht sehr weit auseinander liegen, könnte man vielleicht aus dem gemeinsamen Schwanken zwischen nī und nrī (für *nostri*) schliessen. Immerhin zeigt die rätische Gruppe verhältnismässig noch viel häufiger nī; während andererseits für die Endsilbe *ur* die 2 Form in der karolingischen durchgedrungen ist, in der rätischen aber erst eindringt, wie in besonders interessanter Weise an den vielen erst nachträglich vorgenommenen Aenderungen verfolgt werden kann (siehe VII 25, VII 26 und VII 49).

Liste. (Wo nicht anderes angegeben, ist durchweg über der gekürzten Stelle ein Kürzungsstrich zu denken. Einklammerung deutet an dass die Kürzung sich nicht im Grundstock der Handschrift, sondern nur in einem kleineren Teil oder einem Nachtrag findet).

AUTEM. au II 35; II 54; VII 9; VII 17; VII 25; VII 26; VII 28; VII 41.
aut VI 109; (VII 4 im Schlussteil); VII 64.
beides VII 21; VII 39, aber aut häufiger; XIV 14, aber au häufiger.

DAVID. dd VII 9; VII 26; VII 28; VII 64.
DICO. dr ' dicitur ' VII 26, neben einmaligen der Bl. 4r). (VII 41 dr im Schlussteil)
d ' dixit ' XIV 14.
EIUS. ei VII 26; VII 39; XIV 14.
ei ' II 54; VII 4; VII 9; VII 21, wo auch hui ' ' huius '; VII 25. (VII 41 im Schlussteil).
beides VII 64.
ENIM. das insulare Zeichen VII 64; einmal auch in VII 26.
ESSE. ee in allen Handschriften mit Ausnahme von II 35; IV 8 und VI 109.
EST. e in allen Handschriften mit Ausnahme von VI 109.
das insulare Zeichen VI 109; vereinzelt auch in VII 21 und VII 64.
FRATRES. frs II 54 (frs kmi); VI 109; VII 4; VII 17 (frs kmi); VII 28; XIV 14.

GLORIA, GRATIA. glm, gras XIV 14.
HIC. Für ' hoc '. h mit leicht geschwungenen Querstrich von oben rechts nach unten links durch die Oberlänge VII 28 Bl. 26r.
Für ' hunc ' hc VII 28.
IMPERATOR. impr. XIV 14.
ISRAEL. isrl II 54; IV 8; VII 21; VII 25; VII 28.
MEUS. ms II 54; VII 9; VII 25; VII 26; VII 39; XIV 14.
MISERICORDIA. miam VII 26; XIV 14.
NOBIS, VOBIS. nob, uob in allen Handschriften ausser II 35, VI 109, VII 25
NON. n in allen Handschriften ausser IV 8. In VII 64 nur vereinzelt.
NOSTER, VESTER. nr, nri u. s. w. IV 8; VI 109; VII 9; VII 21; VII 41; VII 64; XIV 14.
daneben ni, na u. s. w. II 35; II 54; VII 39. Aber nri u. s. w. häufiger VII 17; VII 25; VII 26; VII 28.
NUNC. nc VII 26.
OMNES (OMNIS). om II 35; VII 9.
oms (VII 4 im Schlussteil); VII 39; VII 64; XIV 14.
beides II 54; VII 17; VII 25; VII 26; VII 28; VII 41.
oma ' omnia ' VII 39; VII 64; XIV 14.
omis ' omnis ' VII 21; XIV 14.
onia ' omnia ' II 54.
one ' omne ' VII 9.
POPULUS. popli ' populi ' VI 109 Bl. 15r.
pplos ' populos ' VII 39 Bl. 70v.
PER. das gewöhnliche Zeichen in allen Handschriften.
POST. p' VII 28, VII 39; VII 41. Nur vereinzelt VII 4; VII 25; VII 64; (XIV 14 im Nachtrag).
PRAE. p in allen Handschriften ausser II 35, IV 8 und VII 17
PRO. das gewöhnliche Zeichen in allen Handschriften ausser II 35. In VII 39 nur vereinzelt. In IV 8 die Form mit einem nach links offenen Bogen unten am Ende des durch den Schaft gezogenen Querstrichs.
PROPTER. pp VII 9 Bl. 99r, mit Kürzungsstrich über dem zweiten *p*.
QUE. q: VI 109; VII 25.
q; II 35; VII 9; VII 17; VII 26; VII 28; VII 41.
q. und q; VII 21. q. und q: XIV 14.

q: und q; II 54; (VII 4 im Schlussteil). q; und q.; IV 8. q, und q; VII 39; VII 64.

QUI. q mit übergeschriebenen *i* VII 18, neben vereinzeltem q'; VII 21, wo auch q mit übergeschriebenen *a* ' qua ' (*aequales* Bl. 38r), q mit übergeschriebenen *o* ' quo ' Bl. 74v; VII 25, neben q'; VII 64.

q mit Querstrich (XIV 14 im Nachtrag); einmal VII 39 Bl. 62v.

siq (*q* mit Querstrich) ' siquis ' II 54; VII 4.

tamq (*q* mit schrägem, von oben rechts nach unten links gehenden Strich mit nach oben gerichtetem Haken am Ende) ' tamquam ' VII 21 Bl. 53v.

qd ' quod ' in allen Handschriften.

QUONIAM. qm VII 4, neben qnm: VII 21; XIV 14.

quo VI 109; VII 9; VII 17; VII 25; VII 26; VII 28; VII 41(neben qnm im Schlussteil); VII 64.

beides II 35; II 54; VII 39.

SAECULA. scla II 35.

secla IV 8; VII 4; VII 9; VII 17; VII 21; VII 25; VII 26; VII 41; VII 64; XIV 14.

beides II 54; VII 39.

SECUNDUM. secd VII 4.

scdm II 54; VII 64.

secdm und scdm VII 9.

SICUT. sic II 54; VII 4; VII 9; VII 25; VII 26; VII 28; VII 39.

SUNT. st VI 109; XIV 14. Sonst überall s ausser II 35, IV 8, VII 64.

st und s VII 41.

TEMPORE. tempr VII 39 Bl. 60v.

VEL. ul II 54; (VII 4 im Schlussteil); VII 9; VII 26; VII 28; XIV 14.

l VII 17; VII 25.

u, v, l VI 109.

ul und l VII 39; VII 41; VII 64.

VERO. uo VII 28.

u mit übergeschriebenem *o* VII 64.

Silben, besonders Flexionssilben:

M. wie gewöhnlich; in allen Handschriften. (S. oben ' omnia ', ' omne ').

CON. c VII 26; VII 39; (VII 41 im Schussteil); VII 64; (XIV 14 im Nachtrag).

E Für 'habent' hab durch Korrektur ergänzt zu habnt VII 39 Bl. 17r; wo auch Bl. 23r dicns 'dicens'.

EN. m 'men' in allen Handschriften ausser IV 8 und VI 109.

ER. t 'ter' in allen Handschriften ausser IV 8 und VI 109. Auch b 'ber' (tabernacula VII 25; libertatis VII 26; gubernare VII 39). (S. oben 'vero').

IS. verb 'verbis' VII 28.

IT. in allen Handschriften ausser IV 8, VI 109 und VII 64.

RUM. r mit Querstrich in allen Handschriften, mit Ausnahme von VII 4.

RUNT. r in allen Handschriften ausser IV 8.
condemnabt '-bunt' VII 9 Bl. 79r. Aber gustabt '-bit' VII 4 Bl. 131v.

UR. Apostrophe II 54; VII 109; VII 4; VII 17; VII 28.
2-Zeichen (VII 4 im Schlussteil); VII 21; VII 39; VII 64; XIV 14.
beides VII 9; VII 25; VII 26; VII 41. (In den drei letzten Handschriften 2 oft nachgezogen)

US. Für '-bus' b; in allen Handschriften.
b: VII 4; XIV 14.
b. XIV 14.
b, VII 39; VII 64.

Für '-mus', '-nus' m' in allen Handschriften ausser IV 8 und VI 26;
n' VII 21; VII 41; XIV 14.
m mit Querstrich oder Schleife VII 9; VII 25; VII 26; VII 64; (XIV 14 im Nachtrag).
n mit Schleife VII 26.

Für '-tus' fact' 'factus' VII 39 Bl. 62v. Die Verkürzung von der Silbe *tus* ist also ganz selten, wenn nicht vereinzelt.

Für '-cus', '-dus' cleric 'clericus' VI 109, wo auch (mit Querstrich durch *d*) sinod 'sinodus' (ähnlich) mund 'mundus' VII 17).

(S. oben 'eius' 'huius').

SOME EARLY MSS. OF BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

In the collection of materials for " Notae Latinae " a Belgian MS. of the eighth century brought a problem. The MS. contains Latin Glossaries and ends with Athanasius (i. e. Nicetas of Remesiana) de Pascha. It is in the University Library, Leyden, where its shelf-mark is Voss. F. 26, and formerly belonged to the famous scholar Vulcanius (i. e. de Smet, a native of Bruges), who mentions it on p. 69 of his " Thesaurus Utriusque Linguae " (published in 1600). Vulcanius declares its earlier home to have been the Abbey of St Bavon at Ghent: and accordingly this provenance is assigned to it in " Notae Latinae ". But a recent discovery suggests that Vulcanius' memory played him false: for a leaf in a group of fragments in the Vulcanius collection in the same library (Vulc. 108 no. 7) turns out to be the leaf missing from the end of Voss. F. 26. And this leaf, now re-united to the MS., has the " ex libris " entry of St Pierre, Ghent, not of St Bavon, Ghent. (Cf. Rev. Bénéd. 1927).

The problem brought by this eighth century MS. of St Pierre, Ghent, is its curious abbreviation of the word (or syllable) *pro*. In the minuscule of all countries (except Spain, where *pro* was not abbreviated) one and the same abbreviation-symbol is current, *p* with the under-stroke of the loop projected in a curve to the left of the shaft. But this eighth century Belgian MS. writes always *p* with *o* above. How is one to read this riddle?

To me it suggested degeneration of Irish contraction. For although Irish scribes used the current symbol of *pro*, they expressed *tro* by *t* with *o* above, *pra* by *p* with *a* above. And this St Pierre MS. writes the second syllable of *extra* by *t* with *a* above, the first of *gregem* by *g* with *e* above —

clearly a mode of expression learnt from Irish teachers and extended beyond the limits observed in Irish script.

And another Belgian MS. (containing Canons), not later (and possibly earlier) than the beginning of the ninth century, Brussels 2493 (formerly numbered 8780-8793), offered a similar example of the degeneration of an Insular symbol. The Insular symbol of *autem* (*h* with an upward curve to the right from the shoulder of the letter) has in this MS. an illegitimate form, viz. *h* with an oblique stroke to the right from the right-hand base of the letter. This strange symbol should perhaps not be called illegitimitate. For (as is shewn in " Notae Latinae ", p. 67) the Insular symbol is merely a device for joining an *h* (really the Nota Tironiana of *a*, the initial of *autem*) to a dot on the right – for writing both the *h* and the dot without raising the pen. The Belgian scribe effected the same thing, but in a different way. He went on from the *h* to the dot by way of a slanting upward stroke from the base. At any rate his symbol looks like an imperfect recollection or an abnormal extension of the Irish (at least Insular) usage, just as the St Pierre symbol of *pro* looks like an imperfect recollection or abnormal extension of the Irish usage.

Another peculiarity of the St Pierre Glossary MS. is its use of t^2 (the letter *t* followed by a mark like the numeral 2) for *tur*. For this symbol is (as was shewn in a previous part of this journal; Palae. Lat. III 13), one of the most certain indications of a date not earlier (or not much earlier) than the middle of the ninth century. This puzzling Belgian MS. can hardly be ascribed to the ninth century. More than one feature (large early minuscule; nī " nostri ", etc.) indicate the eighth century. And yet *tur* is symbolized throughout the MS., not by the earlier t' (*t* followed by an apostrophe) but by t^2 (*t* followed by a 2-mark). How are we to explain this irregularity?

Perhaps the explanation lies in the scribe's practice of writing *t* (at the end of a line or even at the end of a word) with an upward curve of the right-hand end of the cross-stroke. His *t* is often exactly like the normal eighth-century *tur* symbol. In fact I found myself persistently misreading his *fallunt*, *fallebant* etc. as *falluntur*, *fallebantur*, until I became accustomed to his peculiar formation of the letter *t*. A scribe

who wrote *t* as other scribes wrote *tur* would be driven to a new *tur*-symbol.

However that may be, the degenerate Irish symbols for *pro* and *autem* and the precocious *tur*- symbol invited an investigation into the early minuscule MSS. of this region. Were they characterized by misapplication of Irish symbols and capricious departure from Continental practices? Could they (especially their abbreviation throw light on the vicissitudes through which the earlier missionary-settlements in this part of Europe had passed? When I thought of all the cross-currents of missionary-enterprize here — St Amand from Aquitaine, St Eloi, St Remacle, St Landelin etc. on the one side; St Willibrord from England, St Boniface etc. on the other; and the gradual encroachment of the authority of Cologne over these regions — the prospect did not seem very hopeful. And an Easter Vacation spent in the chief libraries of Belgium and Holland shewed that very little of the earlier minuscule had survived. The Normans and Danes in the ninth century had burned and pillaged and destroyed everything. In this article therefore I can offer the reader merely an account of a few individual MSS.

The paper of Lamort " Memoire sur l'évangélisation de la Gaule Belgique par les missionaires Irlandais " (Congrès scientifique de France. Arras, 1853-4, II 256) I have not been able to see. The third plate of the " Album Belge de Paleographie " (Brussels, 1908) is presented as a specimen of " minuscule Irlandaise ". But this is merely the old-fashioned designation of any Insular minuscule as " Irish ". The plate is taken from the Maeseyck Gospels; and these are written in a type of English minuscule, not Irish, as will be clear to anyone who looks at the excellent photograph in the " Album Belge " The three plates from these Gospels in J. Gielen " L'Evangeliaire d'Eyck les Maeseyck " in the Bulletin de la Commission d'Art et d'Archéologie, XXX [1891], p. 19, and the two in De Bruyne's recent article, " L'Evangéliaire du VIIIe siècle conservé à Maeseyck " are so cruelly reduced as to be useless for palaeographers). And anyone who looks at the codex itself will see that all its features suit the tradition which connects it with Harlinde and Herlinde, the two noble ladies, daughters of Adalhard of Grimara, foundresses

of the Abbey of Eyck in 730 and devoted followers of St Willibrord and St Boniface. The writing, midway between English half-uncial and minuscule, has the same sturdy form as the Irish script of Dorbbene in the Schaffhausen Vita Columbae of 713 (see my "Early Irish Minuscule", pl. II). There is little use of abbreviation-symbols. It is a volume "de luxe" in the preparation of which great pains have been taken. (For example, a row of red dots projects into the margin at the beginning of each line of text). Its script is English writing of the Continent rather than of England itself. (For example, the *st*-ligature is used). The Gospel-text is, according to De Bruyne, closely connected with Douai 12, the Stockholm MS etc. The spelling is very correct. (One must not find fault with *puplicam*, *iuncxit*, *Elezabeth*, *nimbus*, nor even with *discenderunt* for *de-*, *commone* for *-une*). The subscription suggests only a single worker on the MS.; and if one were to insist that *laboratore* could not be used for *laboratrice* and is equivalent to *scriptore* and *pictore* combined, would exclude the two sisters from the actual writing and even from the ornamentation of the volume: *Explicit liber sancti evangelii secundum Iohannem. Finito volumine deposco ut quicumque ista* (?) *legerint* (sic) *pro laboratore huius operis depraecetur*. (The word *laborator* in a subscription is a departure from custom, but very appropriate to this handsome volume on whose writing and sketching and painting so much labour has been spent). At first sight one might find a new hand at the beginning of the 15th quire (the leaves of the MS. are not numbered), for the script becomes more definitely minuscule here. But a closer inspection shews that both types — the more half-uncial and the more minuscule — are familiar to the scribe, who often passes from the first to the second in the last line of a page. And there is no room for doubt that the Maeseyck Gospels are a specimen of the English calligraphic minuscule of this region in the first half of the eighth century.

Much the same type of script appears in a Bible-fragment in the Brussels Library, foll. 137-140 of n.° 1448 (II 1052), which is said to have come from Alne (or Aulne) near Liége. Plate V taken from this fragment, along with pl. III of the "Album Belge", shew early script of Belgium under English influence.

For one type of early Belgian script under Continental

influence the Leyden MS. already mentioned may serve as example. In the plate (n.° VI) which accompanies this article will be seen some reminiscences of the en-script of Corbie (Palae. Lat. I 62), such as the open *a* with tapering horns and the frequent uncial *n*. Some account of the contents of the codex (whose first nine quires are wanting) will be found on p. XXIX of the preface to vol. IV of Goetz "Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum", though it must be remembered that the final leaf (fol. 49) has now been restored to it. This leaf contains:

(1) the remainig portion of the tract which begins on fol. 48ᵛ. EXPLICIUNT GLOSSAE SPIRITALES IUXTA EUCHERIUM LUGDUNENSIS (*sic*) EPISCOPUM. INCIPIT TRACTATUS SANCTI ATHANASII EPISCOPI ALEXANDRINI DE RATIONE PASCHAE.

(2) a table of designation of the days of the month.

(3) a Greek alphabet with the numerical significance of each letter, e. g. sd: Z (with *zeta* written above): VII: ebda.

The second and third parts of the contents seem to have been added subsequently. Since the pronunciation of Greek in the different monastery-schools of Europe at this early time has some interest for us, I give a full list of the Greek numerals in their Latin lettering: *mia*, *dia*, *tria*, *tessera*, *penta*, *exa*, *ebda*, *ogdo*, *nia*, *deca*, *ecusi* (hardly "esusi"), *trienta*, *serenta*, *pententa*, *exenta*, *ebdomenta*, *ocdenta*, *ennienta*, *ecaton*, *diacusie*, *triacusie*, *tetracusie*, *pentacusie*, *exacusie*, *ebdacusie*, *ocdocusie*, *niacusie*. What degeneration! The decades fare worst.

But the chief thing for our purpose is the abbreviation. Since there are only 49 leaves in all, and most of them filled by glossaries of a kind which do not admit abbreviation-symbols, this list is anything but satisfactory (I omit the abbreviation-stroke):

AUT a
AUTEM aut
DICITUR dr DICIT dic
EST e ESSE ee
NOBIS, VOBIS (nob), vob
NON n
NOSTRI ni (fol. 49)
NUNC n with *c* above (fol. 1ʳ)

OMNES om OMNIA oma
PER the usual symbol
PRAE the usual symbol
PRO p with *o* above
QUE q followed by a comma
QUI q with *i* above QUAE q QUOD qd QUA q with *a* above
QUO q with *o* above
SAECULI scli
SUNT s
VEL u
VERO u with *o* above
(Syllable- and letter-symbols):
M as usual
CON (1) c (2) reversed *c*
EN m 'men'
ER t 'ter'
IT dic 'dicit'
RI etc. p with *i* above, 'pri'; t with *a* above, 'tra'; g with *e* above, 'gre'
UR t^2 'tur'
US b followed by a comma, '-bus'. For -tus, -ius, -mus, -nus, -cus, -pus the letter has up on the right a small *u*- or *v*-mark.

The "ex libris" (a later entry) of St Pierre, Ghent, is at the end of the MS.: *Liber sancti* (s with *i* above) *Petri Gandensis ecclesie. Servanti benedictio, tollenti maledictio. Qui tulerit folium vel curtaverit, anathema sit.* The curse was called for.

Quite different from this large, rounded type of the early Continental minuscule of Belgium is the script of another MS. from the library of St Pierre, Ghent, now at Brussels, n.° 363 (formerly 10127-41). Plate VII shews it. This collection of Canons can hardly have been penned later than the eighth century (witness the cursive *t* in ligatures *ti*, *ta*, *tr* etc.; the abbreviation of *nostri* by nī along with nrī). And just as the Glossary-codex with the St Pierre "ex libris" shews what I called a degenerate Irish *pro*-symbol, this canons-codex of the same provenance shews for *enim* the Insular symbol not in correct form but preceded by *e* (see the first line of the plate), another example of careless reminiscence or lax usage.

Further, the syllable *tur* is written t^2 as well as t' (with apostrophe): and this t' is used also for the syllable *tus* and even (on fol. 25v) for the word *tum*.

Here is a list of the abbreviation-symbols of Brussels 363 (10127-41):

AUT a
AUTEM au and aut (e. g. both within three lines on fol. 101v)
CUM c with apostrophe or sometimes with a horizontal line which is hooked at its left end
DICIT dic DIXIT dix
ENIM *e* followed by the Insular symbol
EST (1) e (2) the Insular symbol (fol. 83v) ESSE ee
FRATRES frs
ITEM it
MEUS ms MEUM mm
MIHI m with *i* above
MISERICORDIA misrda (fol. 69v)
NOBIS, VOBIS nob, vob
NOMEN nom
NON n
NOSTER nr NOSTRI etc. (1) ni etc. (2) nri etc.
NUNC n with *c* above
OMNES (1) om (2) omn (3) oms
PER the usual symbol
POST p with apostrophe or with semi-colon (;). Sometimes the apostrophe is accompanied by a dot
PRAE the usual symbol
PRO the usual symbol
QUANDO qn
QUE a variety of symbols (e. g. q with cross-stroke slanting up from left to right)
QUI q with *i* above QUAE q QUOD qd (also occasionally the Insular symbol) QUA q with *a* above QUO q with *o* above QUAM q with cross-stroke (as in *que*, but hooked at upper end)
QUIA q followed by 2-mark
QUONIAM qm
SAECULI etc. scli etc.
SECUNDUM secd and secdm SECUNDI etc. secdi etc.

SED s followed by apostrophe. Sometimes the apostrophe is accompanied by a dot
SICUT sic
SUNT s
TEMPORE tempr (fol. 83v)
TIBI t with *i* above (fol. 45v)
TUM t with apostrophe above (fol. 25v *tum demum etiam ipsis*)
TUNC t with *c* above
VEL (1) u (2) l with cross-stroke
VERO u with *o* above

(Syllable- and letter-symbols):

M as usual
CON (1) c (2) reversed c
E n '-ne'
EN m 'men'
ER t 'ter'
IS b with cross stroke '-bis' (also '-bit'!)
IT u '-vit' x '-xit' c '-cit'
b with cross-stroke '-bit'
RI p with *i* above 'pri'
UM c with apostrophe above 'cum' (e. g. in *quemcumque*)
n with apostrophe above 'num' (e. g. in *hominum*
r with apostrophe above (or with oblique stroke through arm) 'rum' (On the conjunction *tum* see above)
d with cross-stroke 'dum' (e. g. in *secundum*)
UNT r '-runt'
UR t (1) with apostrophe (2) with 2-mark (3) with sinuous vertical stroke above 'tur'
US (1) b; '-bus' hui; 'huius'
(2) apostrophe with b '-bus', i '-ius', t '-tus', m '-mus', n '-nus'
(3) downward stroke through end of letter n '-nus', d 'dus' Sometimes it has the 8 form (e. g. in *manus* fol. 107r)

This St Pierre MS. of Canons is written by a number of scribes, which accounts for the diversity of abbreviation. The strong ingredient of Insular symbols is noticeable.

Of about the same date and not wholly dissimilar features is a Canons-MS. of unknown provenance, Brussels 2493 (formerly 8780-93), shewn in plate VIII. The contents are stated

in Maassen "Geschichte der Quellen" p. 636. Its spelling is barbarous (e. g. *tragere* for *trahere*, *promixcorum*, *leccio*, *suggescio*, *clerecum*, *congugium*), and its script (in which smaller words are not always separated from their neighbours) is full of eighth century characteristics (e. g. open *q*; cursive *t* in the ligatures *te*, *tu*, *tr* etc.). A noticeable feature of part of it is the slope of shafts (of *h*, *l* etc.) from left down to right. One of its abbreviation-symbols, the extraordinary perversion (see line 3 of the plate) of the Insular symbol of *autem* (fol. 111v), has been already mentioned. (The Continental au appears on fol. 128r). Of the others I noted:

FRATRES frs
ITEM it (by one scribe)
NOBIS, VOBIS nob, vob
NON n and no (The second is an early English symbol)
NOSTRI etc. nri etc.
NUNC nc (by one scribe)
PER the usual symbol
POST p;
PRAE the usual symbol
PRO the usual symbol
QUE (1) q with slanting cross-stroke (2) q:
QUI q with *i* above QUOD qd
QUONIAM (1) qnm (2) qm
SUNT s

(Syllable- and letter-symbols):
M as usual
CON c
ER t 'ter'
UNT r '-runt'
UR (1) t' (fol. 111v *dignetur*) (2) t² '-tur'
US (1) b: '-bus' ei: 'eius'
(2) the apostrophe (e. g. ampli*us*, patrofil*us*, dorothe*us*, heliodor*us*).

The abbreviation-stroke is often vertical, a sinuous stroke like that so often found in Fleury minuscule.

The MS. just described is tentatively assigned in the Library catalogue to Stavelot. There is a Glossary-MS. at

Leyden (67 F) whose provenance is quite unknown, but which I am inclined to assign to this part of Europe. It used to belong to the Bibliotheca Krohniana. Krohn was a native of Hamburg and became pastor of a church there; but who can say where his MSS. came from? An account of it had better be relegated to an Excursus.

Excursus on some Glossary-MSS.

Glossaries have had much respect from classical scholars from Scaliger to Ritschl. There was a belief that these glosses might even transmit to us by direct tradition the interpretations and comments of the most ancient "glossographi"; or, at all events, that they contained ancient lore of some sort or other. In our own time the great Latin Thesaurus admits to its pages almost any gloss which Goetz has printed in his "Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum". Alas! The old belief was a delusion. The new and true account of them is stated in my preface to "Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries" (1922). They are — most of them — mere collections of the marginal interpretations written by monastery-teachers in MSS. (of Virgil, the Bible etc.), marginalia transcribed by subsequent teachers at other monasteries for the use of their own students. These "glossae collectae" from a Virgil MS., a Bible MS. etc. were thrown together pell-mell in one and the same volume and arranged alphabetically (at first by A-, B-, C- etc.; then, in subsequent transcripts, by AB-, AC-, AD- etc.; finally by ABC-, ABD-, ABE- etc.). The volume was called a "glossarium".

Therefore these glosses which the Latin Thesaurus so credulously admits to its pages come (with few exceptions) from the brains of monastery-teachers of the seventh century or later and have no "ancient lore". But, though they are unworthy of the Latin Thesaurus, they played a great part in monastery studies. The Latin used by writers like Aldhelm is glossary-Latin; and, if Aldhelm's glossary had a miswriting (e. g. *arcistes* and *arcister* for *arcites* "bow-men"), Aldhelm follows it blindly ("utpote belliger in meditullio campi arcister" in his letter to Eahfrid). Ecclesiastical dignitaries culled

from the glossaries impressive words for their epistles to other ecclesiastical dignitaries. Students concocted out of glossaries a secret language of their own, not understood by the vulgar (cf. the Hisperica Famina). There was a great demand for these glossaries, and transcripts were made for one monastery-library after another. Therefore, as palaeographers, interested in the developement of monastery-learning, we may take a brief glance at the three " glossaria Krohniana ", Leyden 67 D, 67 E, 67 F.

That Leyden 67 D was written (in the tenth century) at an Irish foundation on the Continent is indicated by the Irish abbreviation-symbols of its (Continental script, e. g. the *sicut*-symbol (*s* with *i* above), the *per*-symbol (in which the curve is sometimes reversed into the form of an apostrophe, and *peri* is expressed by this reversed symbol with a long *i* hanging from the apostrophe), the *inter*-symbol (*i* with cross-stroke). The abbreviation is degenerate: the same symbol can play the part of *quia*, *quam*, *quod*; of *post*, *pri*, *per*. A leaf of an older MS. has been put at the end (as a cover or fly-leaf); and this leaf (fol. 51), containing an Interpraetatio Hebraeorum Nominum Genealogiae Christi Secundum Matthaeum, makes a perfectly correct use of Irish abbreviation-symbols (*p* with *i* above, " pri "; *p* with *o* above, " post "; *p* with right hand curve, " per ", and so on). I do not think that in my account the word " Breton " can be substituted for " Irish ".

Leyden 67 E shews (Continental script for which I would guess as date the beginning of the ninth century, as place some Belgian scriptorium. Its chief glossary is a mere patchwork out of the Abolita Glossary and the Abstrusa Glossary; but it has also a dictionary of Synonyms, whose curious title-heading, *Glose Noni cum Ciceronis*, suggest that the exemplar of 67 E (as of 67 F) had Nonius glosses too. To my mind this suggests connexion of 67 E and 67 F.

For Leyden 67 F I would make the same guesses of date and place. Perhaps an earlier date is deserved by its suprascript *a* (though it writes t² as well as t' for " tur "). Its (Continental) script has many Irish abbreviation-symbols in perverted form e. g. the *hoc*-symbol is accompanied not by a dot above the letter but by a mark like the numeral 9 to

the right), and some that occur only in the earlier MSS. of Ireland. The contents of its 158 pages are suitable for monastery-students. There are glossaries; there are *two* dictionaries of Synonyms (" Synonyma Ciceronis "); the marginalia from *two* MSS. (of the second family) of Nonius (¹); *two* lists of Notae Iuris (beginning *Au: autem A: aut.* with the *autem* expressed by the early Insular symbol āt and the *aut* miswritten *autem*. Hence the erroneous statement in some modern books that ā was a symbol of *autem*); Eucherius' Glossae Spiritales (*Agricola: Deus* etc.); the Voces Variae Animantium (*Ovis balat, Canis latrat* etc.; but *balat* is miswritten *bobat*); the Creeds (clearly from an exemplar in early Insular script); finally *two* copies of the Greek alphabet.

To my mind 67 F preserves for us the combined lore of two early Irish repertoria. The Leyden Library's catalogue (Codd. Bibl. Publ. Lat., p. 37) says of it: " una manu scriptus "; but, although the writing is all of the same type, from the same scriptorium and probably of the same time, there are differences perceptible partly in the abbreviation partly in the script. The scribe of the last item, the two Greek alphabets, was Gaustmar (" Gaustmarus fecit isto Greco " — in Greek letters). A Greek Explicit appears after the Ab Absens Glossary (fol. 62r δόξα σοι ὦ θεὸς ἀμήν), but its Greek lettering is different from that of these two alphabets.

* * *

To return from this disgression — the monastery-libraries of Belgium seem to have been gutted in the ninth century as completely as Louvain Library in the Great War. Of the tenth century or the latter part of the ninth there are enough MSS. at Brussels with the Stavelot " ex libris " to warrant a guess about the practice of the Stavelot scriptorium at that period. But it seems hardly worth while to guess; for by that time the monotonous regularity of Caroline minuscule tended to crush out local peculiarities. (Plate VI of the Album

(¹) Printed by Goetz as a Nonius Glossary in Corp. Gloss. Lat. IV. Goetz seems, in some extraordinary fashion, to think that the marginalia in our MSS. of Nonius come from the Glossary, and not " vice versa ".

Belge comes from one of these Stavelot MSS.). An earlier MS. from the same library has been acquired for Brussels from the Phillipps collection at Cheltenham:

(II 2572) (= Phillipps. 12458 and 12362*) Grammatica varia, saec. IX in. It has some Insular abbreviation-symbols (e. g. *quod, quot, dicitur*) and uses only t' for *tur*. A specimen of its script is given in pl. IV of the Album Belge.

Plate V of the Album Belge shews a page of a St Trond MS. of the year 834: Liége, University Library, n. 306 Jerome's Quaest. Hebr. and Bede on the Libri Regum. Of its abbreviation-symbols I noted:

AUTEM aut
DICIT dic DIXIT dix DICITUR dr
EST e ESSE ee
FRATRES frs FRATRUM frm
MEUS ms
NOBIS nob
NOSTER nr NOSTRI etc. nri etc.
NUNC nc (fol. 23r)
OMNIS omis (fol. 77v) OMNES oms OMNIA oma
PER the usual symbol
POST p with apostrophe
PRAE the usual symbol
PRO the usual symbol
QUASI qs (fol. 84r *rotabit quasi in impetum*)
QUE (1) q; (2) q with oblique cross-stroke
QUI q with *i* above QUOD qd
QUIA q followed by a 2-mark
QUONIAM qm
QUOT qt (fol. 4r)
RELIQUA rl
SECUNDUM secdm
SUNT (1) s (2) st
TEMPORE tepre (fol. 53v)
VEL (1) l (2) ul
VERO u with *o* above

(Letter- and syllable-symbols):

M as usual
CON c
EN m ' men ' (e. g. *nomen, tamen*

ER t ' ter ' (e. g. *mater, frater, propter*)
b ' ber '
IS b ' bis '
IT b ' -bit ' c ' -cit ' u ' -vit ' etc.
UM r with stroke down through tail ' -rum '
UNT r ' -runt ' bt ' -bunt '
UR (1) t' (2) t^2 ' tur '. One scribe uses only t' (not t^2)
US (1) b; ' -bus ' i; ' -ius '
(2) t' ' -tus ' i' ' -ius ' m' ' -mus ' d' ' -dus '
(3) cross-stroke m ' -mus ' l ' -lus ' d ' -dus '.

From the library of St Hubert in the Ardennes comes:
Namur 11 Bede's History; Gregory of Tours.

The Bede-part is full of Insular abbreviation; the Gregory-part has little abbreviation. The Bede-part is divided between different scribes; and their practice of abbreviation is very different. The first foll. 1-35ʳ) revels in Insular symbols, apparently transferring them or most of them) from the exemplar. I am inclined to regard the occasional ni " nostri " (nri is his usual symbol) as (like n " nostri " etc.) a symbol from the exemplar, not a current symbol of the transcriber. And symbols like gla " gloria ", gra " gratia ", t^2 " -tur ", m^2 " -mur " make me date the MS. " ninth century " rather than (as some have dated it) " eighth century ". The second scribe of the Bede-part has a curious use of a horizontal suprascript stroke for *u* in *qui*, *quid* etc. which is worth mention. And I had better mention that the chronicle of Frankish kings on the last (adventicious) leaf of this MS., fol. 222, is of later date.

Of another MS. from St Hubert's library, (now Brussels II 4826), containing Isidore's Etymologies I-X in the Corbie ab-script (Palae. Lat. I 65), a photograph will be found in Werveke " MS. des dix premières livres des Etymologies d'Isidore en écriture lombarde du VIIIᵉ siècle ". Luxemburg, 1884. There is no indication that it was actually written at St Hubert, nothing to contradict a conjecture that it was written at Corbie.

And yet the famous uncial MS. of Caesarius in the Brussels Library (9850-52) written at the order of Nomedius, abbot of St Médard, Soissons (695-711), a MS. which later belonged to the abbey of St Vaast, Arras (see New Palaeogr. Soc. I 28),

has four leaves (foll. 140-143) in the Corbie ab-script (New Pal. Soc. I 29), which Traube (O Roma Nobilis, p. 35) declared to have been written at Arras. Was the Corbie ab-script practised in Arras and in the Ardennes? Or was it merely that a Corbie monk at St Vaast and another at St Hubert were the writers? The same problem is offered by the two North Italian MSS. in the Luxeuil script, Verona 40 and Ivrea 1. Was the Luxeuil script practised in North Italy? Or was it merely that French visitors wrote these two MSS.; just as Bruun of Fulda, on a visit to Würzburg, wrote in Fulda-Insular script the MS. discussed in a previous part of this journal (Palae. Lat. III 6), Würzburg Mp. th. Q 22? Or were they written in France?

A NEW FRAGMENT IN THE B-TYPE

BY E. A. LOWE.

The abbey of St Peter's at Corbie in Picardy has played a very important role in the preservation of ancient and mediaeval MSS. This has been common knowledge ever since the days of Mabillon and the authors of the "Nouveau Traité", most of whose illustrations were drawn from Corbie MSS. Delisle's admirable studies have served to emphasize still more the importance of Corbie as a literary centre (L. Delisle in Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes XXI [1860], 393 ff., 498 ff., and in Cabinet des manuscrits II [1874] 104 ff. and 427 ff.) But it was Traube who unfolded for us the full significance of Corbie as a scriptorium (1). When Delisle wrote his "Cabinet des manuscrits" he was still labouring under the "Lombardic" misapprehension, and it did not seem unlikely to him that the so-called "Lombardic" MSS. from Corbie, written in the script now known as the ab-type, originated in Italy. Traube, following in the footsteps of the great Maffei, discarded the equivocal terminology and its pseudo-historical implications, and by allowing these wonderful MSS. to tell their own plain tale, came to recognize in them a peculiar and practically local type, which he called "the old script of Corbie". He was thus the first to stake out the claims of Corbie and neighbouring centres, and to make a clearing, as it were, in the "selva selvaggia" of pre-Caroline minuscule scripts. Traube's "old script of Corbie" is a distinct type. A partial list of MSS. in this type was given by me in "Studia Palaeo-

(1) L. Traube "Perrona Scottorum" in Munich Academy Sitzungsberichte 1900, p. 493, where Petrograd F. XIV, 1 is described as written "in der ältesten (Schrift) von Corbie, die in dieser Gegend geherrschet haben muss". A similar observation is found in his earlier work, "O Roma nobilis" in the Munich Academy Abhandlungen XIX [1892] 331, Anm. 5. Here Traube speaks of the Corbie script as French half-cursive.

graphica" (Sitzungsbericht of the Munich Academy, 1910; Abhandlung 12, p. 36 ff.). A practically complete list is found in Professor Lindsay's paper entitled "The Old Script of Corbie, its Abbreviation Symbols" (in Revue des Bibliothèques, XXII [1912] 411 ff.) (¹). But Traube's designation has proved inadequate, since Corbie did not have one old script, but several. The type that Traube had in mind happens to have two letters, *a* and *b*, in a form which differentiates the type from all others. It accordingly seemed more precise and therefore more scientific to name this particular script the "Corbie ab-type", a nomenclature adopted in my "Studia Palaeographica" and accepted by Professors Lindsay, Lehmann, Zimmermann, Rand, Dom Wilmart and others. If further justification were needed for giving up the term coined by Traube, it is now supplied by Liebaert's discovery, recently enlarged upon by M. Lauer, that an entirely different type — a type of ordinary minuscule — was practised at Corbie during the second half of the eighth century. This type possesses fully as good a right to be called "the old script of Corbie" as does the ab-type. (Cf. P. Liebaert "Some Early Scripts of the Corbie Scriptorium" in Palae. Lat. I [1922] p. 62 ff. and plates II-V; P. Lauer "La réforme carolingienne de l'ecriture latine" in Extraits des mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Tome XIII, 1924).

It is perhaps worth stating that, in speaking of the ab-type as a Corbie type, we are using a terminology which must not be construed too literally. If it is taken to mean that the type originated at Corbie and was confined to that centre, the designation is clearly misleading. We have no

(¹) To be added are two items mentioned by Lindsay "Notae Latinae" p. XI, n. 1, and one from Oxford: Bordeaux, Bibl. Publique, MS. 28 St Augustine; Cologne, Stadtarchiv G. B. Kasten B. 140. 141; Oxford, Bodleian, Canonici Patr lat. 112 Athanasius etc. in ordinary minuscule with additions and corrections in ab-type, e. g. foll. 11, 36ᵛ et passim. The contents of this Oxford manuscript correspond exactly with item 225 of the Corbie catalogue as printed in Becker's "Catalogus Catalogorum", p. 282. The flyleaf of Reims MS. 8, containing the Index Liturgicus of Saint-Thierry, is in a type between the ab- and the b-type which deserves a separate note (cf. A. Wilmart in Rev. Bénédictine, 1913, pp. 437 ff.). [See also Revue des Bibliothèques, XXIV 24. ED].

evidence to show that Corbie created the type, and there is good ground for believing that the type was practised in other places, e. g. Saint Riquier, Soissons, Arras, perhaps also Beauvais and other centres in the north and near Paris. The justification for the expression " Corbie ab-type " lies in the circumstance that the majority of the MSS. in the ab-type were actually preserved to us by the monastery of Corbie, so that it is reasonable to suppose that Corbie played a leading part in the development of this interesting script.

Palaeographers are aware that Autun 20 (Gregory's Dialogues; Augustine's Enchiridion), Montpellier (Bibl. Ville) 3 (Gospels), Oxford Bodl. Douce f. 1 (Gelasian Sacramentary) and Vatic. Regin. 316 (Gelasian Sacramentary) form a group by themselves (1). These MSS. are written in a script which we call the b-type, and which is clearly the immediate forerunner, perhaps the direct ancestor of the ab-type. They have nearly all the distinguishing features of the latter type, including the curiously-shaped *b*, with the short horizontal tag to the right of the stem and the long open bow; but they lack the typical *a* shaped like undotted *i* followed by *c*, and they have instead an *a* shaped like two adjacent *c*'s or contiguous *oc*. When, however, *a* combines with the letter which follows, the top of the first stroke of *a* bends to the left (as in the ab-type). It is the frequent use of this *a* in combination, and its frequent position above the line that constitute characteristic features of this group. If we are correct in assuming that the ab-script flourished at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, then the b-type must have been in use during the early decades of the second half of the eighth century, hardly earlier than the middle of the century.

(1) Cf. Stud. Pal. p. 36 and Rev. des Bibliothèques, l. c., p. 414. The late S. Tafel also discussed these MSS. in the now defunct Revue Charlemagne II [1912] 105 ff. Facsimiles of the Montpellier MS. are in the Liebaert Collection. Of the Reginensis a plate exists in Delisle " Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires " (pl. IV) and in Ehrle-Liebaert " Specimina codd. lat. " (pl. 20). The MS. itself is in uncials of the eighth century. It is the minuscule additions on folios 8v, 45v and 46 that interest us here. The Oxford ragment is reproduced in Wilson " The Gelasian Sacramentary " (Oxford, 1894), p. LVII.

The fragment which forms the subject of this note is written in the b-type, and thus forms the fifth member of the above group [1]. It is a single leaf bound up in the miscellany, Paris. lat. 4808, as folio 121. The approximate size of the written space is 240 × 145 mm. There are twenty-nine long lines to the page. See pl. IX.

The leaf contains the initial seventy-four verses of Symphosius " Enigmata ", not however divided into verses, but running on like a prose text. The library of Corbie, as is well known, possessed a manuscript in which Symphosius was represented [2]. I refer to Petrograd MS. F. XIV 1, which, as Traube has shewn, must have been written at St Riquier, whence it was borrowed by someone at Corbie (cf. Traube, " O Roma nobilis ", p. 29 ff = Abhandlungen of the Munich Academy XIX 2 [1891] 325 ff.). It is in the ab-type and, unless I err, also has twenty-nine lines to the page [3]. The two MSS. do not offer an identical text, but seem to represent two different recensions. The Paris fragment was carefully described by J. Klein in Rheinisches Museum XXII [1868] 525 ff. and was used by A. Riese in his " Anthologia latina " I, 1, p. 222 (app. crit.). The Paris catalogue of 1744 describes the fragment rather vaguely, thus: Aenigmata nonnulla versibus

(1) Related to this small group of minuscule manuscripts is a small group of uncial and half-uncial manuscripts of extraordinary interest to liturgiologists and palaeographers, which should be dealt with exhaustively by competent hands. The scholar who can fix the date and determine the origin of these manuscripts will have thrown much needed light on a very puzzling palaeographical problem. [Cf. Notae Latinae, p. XI. ED.].

(2) See G. Becker, " Catalogus Catalogorum ", N. 136, item 170 which reads: Fortunati de diversis rebus; in laudem sancte Marie liber unus bis scriptus, de vita sancti Martini libri IV; multa alia de diversis; de virginitate laudanda in sanctis veteris et novi Testamenti; enigmata Althelmi episcopi et *Symphosii scholastici;* versus Probe (= Delisle, " Cabinet des MSS. " II, p. 436). Copies of Symphosius existed in the Middle Ages in the libraries of Reichenau, St. Gall, Passau, Bobbio, Murbach, Lorsch, Fleury (?), Corbie and in an unidentified library. Cf. Becker, l. c., nos. 6, 364; 10, 2; 22, 393; 28, 37; 32, 422-3; 33, 74; 37, 417; 38, 73; 45, 4; 121, 58, 72, 91; 130, 170.

(3) The MS. is important for the text of Fortunatus, Aldhelm and a collection of ancient Christian inscriptions, and has been used by Leo, De Rossi and Ehwald, as well as by Riese and others. It is described in Neues Archiv V [1897] 255. Facsimiles in Staerk's work on the MSS. of St Petersburg, II, pl. 27, and in Arndt-Tangl " Schrifttafeln ", pl. 6.

expressa et longobardico charactere exarata (Catalogus codd. mss. Bibl. Regiae, Pars tertia. Tomus IV, Paris 1744, p. 3).

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the miscellany Paris lat. 4808 has another interest for palaeographers, since it contains on folios 53-65 (Eucherius) a portion of the sixth century uncial MS. to which folios 1-23 (Julii Honorii Cosmographia) of Paris lat. 2769 also once belonged. Traube was evidently unaware that the two parts came from one MS. (Traube, " Vorles. und Abhandl. " I, p. 213). The credit of making the fact public belongs to Dom De Bruyne, who has put us all under obligation to him by publishing the series of articles entitled " Membra disjecta " (Revue Bénédictine, XXXIV [1924] 121 etc.). In the last of the series brief comment will be found on Paris lat. 2769 and 4808, where I have tried to point out that those who are searching for " Codices Vivarienses " would do well to study carefully this dismembered MS.

UNE ABRÉVIATION INCONNUE

PAR DONATIEN DE BRUYNE.

En 1905 M. Manitius publia un fragment d'un commentaire inconnu de l'Évangile de S. Matthieu (" Ein Fragment aus einem Matthäuskommentar " dans Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte XXVI [1905], p. 235). Ce feuillet, acquis récemment par la bibliothèque de Dresde et coté aujourd'hui R 52, est en écriture anglo-saxonne du VIIIe siècle. Il contient trois fois l'abréviation ' het ' qui, d'après l'éditeur, doit probablement être interprétée ' hoc est ' (O. c. p. 236, n. 6).

J'ai trouvé dans le manuscrit 62 (65) d'Orléans un exemplaire presque complet de ce même commentaire, et la même abréviation revient à peu près à chaque page. L'interprétation ' hoc est ' n'est pas justifié par aucun usage et est contraire au contexte. L'interprétation ' habet ' serait conforme à un usage très répandu, mais me paraissait ici impossible. Je finis par découvrir que ' hēt ' était dans tout le commentaire une contraction pour ' haeret '. Comme aucun manuel, pas même l'excellent ouvrage de W. M. Lindsay " Notae Latinae ", ne connaît cette abréviation, et comme E. A. Lowe, un de nos meilleurs paléographes, m'écrivit récemment après avoir pris connaissance d'un troisième manuscrit (Paris B. N. 2384) que je lui avais signalé: " Hēt which occurs often must be ' habet ', not ' haeret ' as you suggested to me in a letter long ago ", il ne sera pas superflu de démontrer mon interprétation:

1) *Habet* n'est jamais abrégé het dans le ms. d'Orléans.

2) Het apparaît toujours entre deux textes bibliques dont le second précède un peu le premier, p. ex.: *nolite solliciti esse* (Mt. 6, 34) het *haec omnia adicientur vobis* (6, 33). Assez souvent il y a une alternative, p. ex.: *petite* (7, 7) het *nolite sanctum* (7, 6)... sive *petite* het *ne solliciti sitis* (6, 25). Quelquefois l'expression est plus claire, p. ex.: sive *in illo tempore* (11, 25) het loco ubi Lucas ait *reversi sunt LXXXII* (Luc. 10,

17). Une fois het est remplacé par un synonyme, et ce passage est décisif: *nolite thesaurizare* (6, 19) het *ne videaris ab hominibus* (6, 18)... sive hoc retrorsum iungitur ubi sit *vos estis sal terrae* (5, 13).

Dans le manuscrit d'Orléans j'ai trouvé deux fois l'abréviation insulaire pour *autem*, quelquefois les abréviations insulaires pour *est*, *enim*. La phrase inintelligible du fragment de Dresde: *Nemo ore humani eloquii dicir* [1], est correcte dans le ms. d'Orléans: *Faciem* (18, 10) *more humani eloquii dicitur*. Le modèle sur lequel fut copié le ms. d'Orléans était évidemment en écriture insulaire. L'abréviation hēt qui se retrouve dans les trois mss. connus devait être aussi dans leur archétype et il n'est pas téméraire de supposer que l'auteur du commentaire l'a employée. L'a-t-il inventée?

[If he invented it, he may have written it anyhow. But if he wrote it as it should be written, he put the abbreviation-stroke not over the *e*, but through the shaft of the *h*. See my " Notae Latinae ", p. 333-336. ED.].

[1] Dans la Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch, l. c., p. 238 Manitius dit: " Mit dicir ist nichts anzufangen ". Il n'y a pas de trait marquant une abréviation.

UN SCRIBE CORBEIEN DU VIIIe SIECLE

PAR OLGA DOBIACHE-ROJDESTWENSKY.

Quant au nom du scribe du Petropolitanus F. v. I, 6 (Ambrosii expositio in S. Lucam), Delisle (Cabinet des Manuscrits, II, 111 et 118) n'en dit rien. On en aurait en vain cherché une mention chez MM. Lindsay, Liebaert et — de date tout récente — Lauer. D'après ce que je sais (1), ce nom est passé sous silence jusqu'à present. C'est évidemment parce que, depuis longtemps, le Petrop. F v. I, 6 n'a pas éte examiné en original avec la pensée d'y chercher la 'subscriptio librarii'.

Elle y est pourtant. Le nom de copiste, malaisé plutôt à déchiffrer, y est inscrit. Tracée au minium la ' subscriptio librarii ' se trouve là, où il serait tout naturel de la chercher: elle suit immédiatement l'Explicit au fol. 210.

Quelques années avant la guerre l'abbé Staerk l'a vue. Il en a copié presque correctement le commencement, pour se fourvoyer dans le reste, qui importe surtout. Ce commencement se lit aisement:

(fol. 210r) *Quisquis legis ora pro s*
cribtorem si dnm ihm xpm
habeas adiutorem.

Si l'on examine, on verra que le dernier mot du fragment, griffoné au-dessous, est à peine lisible. Ce n'est qu'après l'avoir deviné qu'on commence à le lire; le restituer d'après les traits rouges et les sillons qui en sont restés. Ce mot, presque

(1) Je me sens obligée à cette réserve, vu des lacunes de la littérature moderne dans notre Bibliothèque. Du reste, comme dans les études de P. Liebaert de 1922 et de Lauer de 1924 ce problème ne se trouve pas mentionné, il en faut conclure qu'il ne fut pas posé. D'autant plus qu'après la guerre notre Bibliothèque n'a été que très rarement visitée par les savants étrangers.

effacé, est celui de *scribsit*. Le *scribsit* aussitôt gagné, on lit aisement ce qui précede:

ingr..s adiuuante dno.

Il est évident que le mot initial de cette ligne ne peut être autre chose que le sujet du verbe *scribsit*, le nom du copiste. Or, quel est ce nom? Les lettres 5e et 6e provoquent des doutes. Ayant lu le nom comme *Ingrius* ou *Ingreus* nous l'avons cherché à travers plus d'une centaine d'Indices de noms de personnes ayant trait aux siècles précarolingiens et à la région dont il s'agit. (Nous avons examiné tous les volumes des AA. SS., des volumes respectifs de Dom Bouquet, de la Société de l'Hist. de France, de Rerum Brit., des Monumenta Germaniae et de tous les cartulaires disponibles du Nord français). Pas une seule fois nous ne sommes tombé sur ces formes. Nous avons abouti à penser à *Ingrāus* = *Ingrannus*, dont les mentions sont très nombreuses

Mais, comme cette conjecture ne paraissait pas satisfaisante au point de vue paléographique), nous nous sommes adressé à notre photographe, M. Serge Gassiloff, qui travaille sous la direction de M. Bénechevitch. Il procède par le moyen de la multiplication des copies qu'il superpose ensuite l'une à l'autre. Le *scribsit* du monde des visions devient une réalité. *Ingreus* y est déchiffré sans moindre doute. C'est à ce nom qu'il faut se tenir.

La ‘subscriptio librarii’, si on y resout les abréviations et met les majuscules et les signes d'interponction d'après l'usage moderne, se présente ainsi:

Quisquis legis, ora pro scribtorem,
Si Dominum Ihesum Christum habeas adiutorem.
Ingreus adiuuante Domino
scribsit.

Si rien ne manque dans le raisonnement qui précède, on peut compléter la liste de Delisle (‘de copistes et de bibliothécaires de Corbie’) par un nom, assez rare, d'un scribe corbeien du milieu du VIIIe siècle: *Ingreus*.

HOW MANY LEAVES AT A TIME?

BY E. K. RAND.

This question I have been in the habit of asking in recent years when describing a manuscript. I would examine the ruling of the leaves with no particular enthusiasm, noting merely as one of the things to note that four were ruled at a time or two, especially when the parchment was thick or the leaves were of large size, or in exceptional cases, just one, or, in still more exceptional cases, as many as five. The exceptions seemed to explain themselves and no principle of particular moment seemed to be involved. But one day this summer, in studying the famous Rorigo Bible (Paris, B. N. lat. 3), I was at first puzzled as to what the method of ruling was and then discovered that a new principle had been applied, perhaps of some significance in determining the date of books of the ninth century.

The method of ruling four leaves at a time is, in most cases, simple enough. Four double leaves parchment, making the eight leaves of a quaternion, were prepared for writing; I will refer to the leaves by the letters A-H. They were then arranged, in accordance with the rule that today bears Gregory's name, with the hair-sides (=HS) confronting hair and the flesh-sides (=FS) confronting flesh-sides. I will henceforth refer to this practice as Rule I. Another practice (Rule II), generally observed in manuscripts of the ninth century, though not always in the earlier books ([1]), was to use H for the outer leaves of a gathering, — the recto of the first and the verso of the last; in this fashion the gathering was better protected, especially if no guard-leaf preceded. After the leaves were arranged with H of a double leaf on top,

([1]) See E. A. Lowe in Lowe and Rand, A sixth-century fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger, New York 1922, p. 4, n. 2.

pin-pricks were made first, it would seem, for the vertical column-lines; these were ruled, and then, either in close proximity to them or off towards the margins, pin-pricks were set for the lines of text and these were ruled, often on both pages (H^v and A) at once. The double leaves were then folded, sometimes from the outer leaf inwards and sometimes from the inner leaf outwards. In some cases, therefore, we find in the bound quaternion that the ruling is on the outer leaf (H^v-A), but in other cases on the inner leaf (D^v-E). In either case, the ruling is done on the hair-side.

The principle is the same when two leaves are ruled together. They were placed HS on top and FS against FS, and ruled in the fashion described above. In ternions, we sometimes find three leaves ruled together, sometimes two formed a pair with the third leaf ruled separately or taken from some binion or quaternion already ruled. A quinion may consist of a quaternion ruled four leaves at a time plus an extra leaf or of a ternion plus a binion, or — like any gathering in exceptional cases — of leaves separately or irregularly ruled. As I have implied before, these are the exceptions that prove the rule.

In turning over the Rorigo Bible, I was confronted first of all with the difficulty of finding correspondences. The leaves of the *édition de luxe* were as carefully ruled as they had been carefully prepared. I could discover no case where A was ruled on B, C, D successively, and hardly expected anyway that four leaves so large as those of the book (495 × 372 mm.) would be ruled at a time. For even when large leaves are thin, it is harder to handle four of them than two. But further, I found no case of A on B or of C on D or of E on F or of G on H. One might infer that each leaf was ruled separately, were it not that correspondences do exist. For instance in Q. XXIV (181-188), 183 is ruled on 181, 182^v on 184^v, and the other parts of these double leaves agree. That is, 185 is ruled on 187 and 186^v on 188^v; or, to speak in terms of letters, H^v-A is ruled on F^v-C and D^v-E on B^v-G. At the time of the ruling, therefore, the leaves were arranged HS-FS on HS FS (instead of on FS-HS) and then were re-assembled before writing so that Rules I and II might be carried out, as they regularly are throughout this book. Q. XXVIII and

XXXIII are ruled in just the same way. In Q. XXX, the method of ruling is F^v-C on H^v-A and D^v-E on B^v-G. In Q. XXXIV, F^v-C is ruled on H^v-A and B^v-G on D^v-E. In Q. XXXVIII, H^v-A is ruled on F^v-C and B^v-G on D^v-E. The principle is obviously the same. HS-FS was laid not, as in the usual way, on FS-HS, but on HS-FS, and the double leaves thus ruled were variously re-assembled to make up the quaternions before the writing began (1).

This, it seems to me, was a clever invention. If the ruling is made on HS-FS over FS-HS, the line has a hard bit of resistance in HS at the end. If the leaves are HS-FS on HS-FS, this resistance is overcome before the force is exhausted; the line will show better on a final FS than on a final HS. There may also be an aesthetic motive. In the usual ruling, a set of convex lines on A^v confronts on B a set of concave lines. In the new method, convex confronts convex on FS and concave confronts concave on HS.

Further, as I have said, such correspondences in the ruling are hard to find. There are very few discoverable in in the Rorigo Bible besides those that I have mentioned. It may be they exist but are impossible to make out because of the delicate ruling. It may also be that a large number of ruled leaves were laid in a pile and that different scribes at work on different gatherings or on different works of the same format drew at random from the pile. At any rate, a new method has been invented. I will refer to it as N. S. (New Style) in contradistinction to O. S. (Old Style), the method previously used.

We naturally should like to know when this new principle came in and whether its presence may not be of some help in determining the time when a manuscripts was written. With that object in mind, I here present a list of some of the books of Tours preserved today in the libraries of Paris, taking this occasion to express my hearty thanks to my friends Messieurs Omont, Auvray and Lauer and to the other officials

(1) The reader is advised for the better comprehension of the above paragraph and of some of the following descriptions to make a miniature quaternion of four cards or strips of paper, indicating the hair-sides and lettering the different pages. He can put these slips in the orders described whenever the arrangement is hard to visualize.

at the Bibliothèque Nationale for many courtesies extended to me over a period of many years. My list is compiled from various well-known articles of Delisle, from Berger's Histoire de la Vulgate, and from material that Traube had prepared, with the presence of semiuncials especially in mind; this material was kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Paul Lehmann in 1912. I have also benefited by information given by other friends, whose names will appear in the appropriate places (¹).

A few titles have been added as a result of chance discovery. The manuscripts in Paris do not include all the products of the school of Tours, but the collection is the largest and most representative that exists. I will make occasional reference to other books. I also have reason for believing that a systematic search in the Bibliothèque Nationale would add yet more titles to those that I here present.

I will treat the manuscripts of Tours under the following heads. I. The Earliest Period. II. The Irish Period. III. The Pre alcuinian Period. IV. The Alcuinian Period. V. The Pre-midcentury. VI. The Midcentury. VII. The Post-midcentury. My treatment must be brief and categorical, with little reference to what has been already said about the different books and with little of the argument that has led me to the opinions here set forth. These are subject to modification and correction at the hands of my critics. For the moment, I still adhere essentially to the view that I have already expressed elsewhere (²).

(¹) I am likewise under special obligation to Professors W. Köhler, P. Lauer, P. Lehmann, W. M. Lindsay, E. A. Lowe, L. Schiaparelli and Dom A. Wilmart, O. S. B., for kindly reading this paper while it was in manuscript and for helping me to excise and emend. But none of these scholars should be held responsible for anything that remains.

(²) See Rand and Howe, " The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours ", in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, I (1917), 1-58 ; " Dom Quentin's Memoir on the text of the Vulgate ", in *The Harvard Theological Review*, XVII (1924), 238-247 ; " On the history of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the early Middle Ages ", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (1926), 37-38.

I. — The Earliest Period.

1. Paris B. N., Nouv. Acq. lat. 1575 (St. Martin 50). Eugippius, Extracts from St. Augustine. Written by many scribes in uncial, semiuncial and Merovingian cursive minuscule c. 700-750. The earliest manuscript that can be called with any positiveness a product of the scriptorium of St. Martin's. Rules I and II are only irregularly applied. Two leaves, rarely four, and three in ternions, are ruled together sometimes on HS and sometimes on FS. The ruling is crude and primitive. It precedes the days of method.

Two still more ancient books (Nos. 2 and 3) were owned by monasteries of Tours, whether written there or elsewhere.

2. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1592 (St. Martin 231). Hilarius, De Trinitate. Saec. VI in uncials. Written in South Italy (Lowe). Rule I is generally observed but not Rule II; the outer leaf of a gathering is FS. Pin-pricks *within* the column-lines correspond to those on the opposite page of the double leaf; the two pages were ruled together. The ruling is faint and correspondences are hard to make out. In some cases they clearly do not exist (e. g. in Q. II, foll. 17-24). Since some of the rulings are primary and some secondary, more than one leaf — probably not more than two — were ruled at a time on FS. The leaves were laid FS-HS on FS-HS and then re-assembled in accordance with Rule I. This is like N. S., except that the ruling is done on FS instead of HS. It would be interesting to know if this method is frequent in ancient manuscripts. If that is so, N. S., like many inventions, is an improved revival.

3. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 2334 (St Gatian 4). The Ashburnham Pentateuch. Written in uncials of the seventh century. Current opinion tends to assign the writing of this book to Spain. Lowe finds something " queer, foreign, exotic about the script which does not look French, nor has it anything specifically Spanish ". At least it was on hand at Tours from an early date and exercised an obvious influence on the art of certain of the later books. In its fragmentary condition the gatherings of this manuscript are well-nigh impossible to de-

termine. Possibly only one leaf was ruled at a time, apparently on the flesh-side.

4. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1586 (Marmoutier 1). The Marmoutier Prophets. Uncial Assigned by Delisle (Fonds Libri, p. 7) and Chatelain (Uncialis Scriptura, pl. LVIII, p. 101) to the ninth century and by the authors of the Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique (III, pp. 176 and 251) to the seventh. I should regard the book as done not much later than the Eugippius, N. 1. Little attention is paid to Rules I and II. Two, four and even five leaves are ruled at a time, generally on HS, though occasionally on FS. The lines are often irregular.

5. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1587 (St. Gatian 8). The Gospels of St. Gatian. A book in Irish script assigned by Delisle (Fonds Libri p. 9) to the eighth century and regarded by him as a genuinely Irish product brought to Tours in the eighth century. I should rather regard it as the work of Irish scribes at Tours. Three hands may be distinguished and therefore the subscription containing the name of Holcundus is probably copied from the original. Even so, Holcundus is not an Irish name: see Lindsay, Notae Latinae, p. 477. I am inclined to date the book a bit earlier than Egerton 2831. Among its abbreviations it has the apostrophe-symbol for *tur*, the apostrophe being placed now above the cap of the *t* and now just touching its right-hand corner in the Irish fashion. Some regard is paid to Rules I and II but there are frequent exceptions. The gatherings are regularly quinions, five leaves being ruled at a time. The rulings are regularly on the recto of the first leaf and on the recto of the first leaf after the binding; thus in Q. II (foll. 10-19), fol. 10 and fol. 15 are ruled. The ruling is therefore sometimes on HS and sometimes on FS. Perhaps the leaves of a gathering were folded before the ruling was done. This feature does not reappear in the books on this list till after the middle of the century, perhaps not till its close. Is it frequent in Insular manuscripts?

III. — The Pre-alcuinian Period.

The books that I include under this title show a marked advance over the previous script of Tours in clarity and firmness, though many cursive traits remain in the minuscule and the other varieties are not carefully distinguished. The style that I have in mind is found from about 770 to about 810 or later; for periods over-lap.

From now on I will notice the abbreviations for *Iesus*, for *Christus* and for *tur*, which have an importance in the matter of dating. I must reserve for a later time a discussion of the abbreviations of Tours. The reader may also assume, unless further statement is made, that Rules I and II are regularly followed in the remaining books on this list.

6. B. N. lat. 1572 (Colbert) Canons of Councils. A book of Tours on the authority of Etienne Baluze, Colbert's eminent librarian, who generally knew what he was talking about. The script is decidedly early. Abbreviations: ihs and xps with superimposed stroke: tur written in ligature but not abbreviated. Four leaves regularly ruled at a time, generally on the inner, sometimes on the outer leaf. I put this book first in the present section because it is of indubitably greater antiquity than the others, which I will arrange in the order of their numbers in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

7. B. N. lat. 1451 (Colbert. From St. Maur-des-Fossés) Canon of Councils. Written in 796 by more than one scribe. Classed with good reason as a book of Tours by Professor Köhler; see below, pp. 9 ff. Primitive in ornament and script. Beast-forms appear in the initials. Abbreviations: ihu and xps with stroke. For *tur*, the semicircle (very rarely the apostrophe), tilted in various positions above the *t*. On fol. 10, the 2-symbol appear in *cupimur*, apparently by the first hand. This is changed by another hand to *cupimus* by the addition of *us*. Had this hand found simply the apostrophe, no change would have been made. I should regard this as one of those rare appearances of the 2-symbol that occur, as I have tried to show [1], in the script of Tours at the turn of the century.

[1] See *Speculum*, II (1927), 52.

Ruling of quaternions: 4 O. S., generally on the inner, sometimes on the outer leaf.

8. B. N. lat. 1711 (Colbert From Cormery). Optatus, Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani et Felicis etc. Ascribed in the Catalogue to the eleventh century, but rightly regarded by Köhler, to whom I owe the reference to this book, as one of the early books of Tours. Primitive in script and ornamentation (very little of the latter). The minuscules and the crude semiuncials suggest the manner of the Vatican Livy. Abbreviations: xps with stroke; the semi-circle, or rather loop, not the apostrophe, for *tur* (very rare). Ruling: 4 O. S., regularly on the outer, once on the inner leaf.

9. B. N. lat. 4333 B. Regulae Monasticae. Script early, crude ornamentation and pictures. A hand at the end suggests the manner of Tours 10; on this manuscript see *Speculum*, II (1927). Neums on fol. 73 surely of the style of Tours (Dom Beyssac). Abbreviations: ihu, xps: *tur* with the apostrophe (frequent sometimes approaching the loop-form). Ruling for quaternions: 4 O. S. regularly on the outer leaf. Q. IV consists of a quaternion thus ruled, plus an extra leaf separately ruled.

10. B. N. lat. 4404 (Colbert, "ex Gallia Narbonensi"). Breviarium Alarici, "Written by Peregrinus and perhaps others in 803-814" (Lindsay, Notae Latinae, p. 472). Köhler, to whom I owe the reference to this book, is inclined to date it about 805. Apparently by one hand, varying in size, fineness and ink. Early in script and ornamentation, suggesting the class of which Köhler makes No. 7 the first specimen; see below, pp. 9 f. For *tur*, the semi-circle, the points generally facing down. Ruling: 4 O. S.

11. B. N. lat. 5581 (Colbert). Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini* and the other pieces that form the collection known as the Martinellus. Script round and regular but with cursive traits. Very near to, if not identical with, one of the hands in Tours 10 and Boulogne 51 (55). Abbreviations: ihs, xps; *tur* with the semi-circle, points facing the left. Ruling: 4 O. S. on the inner leaf. I came across this important book in consequence of a talk with my friend Dom Beyssac, O. S. B., who had it on his list of manuscripts of possible importance for liturgical material.

12. B. N. lat. 5726 (Colbert, de Thou. Pithou). Livy, Books VI-X. A most interesting book, mainly in the hand akin to that of Fredegaudus, one of the scribes of the Vatican Livy. Much more remains to be said about it! The abbreviation for *tur* is the apostrophe. Ruling: 4 O. S. on the outer leaf; 2 when the parchment is thick (e. g. Q. IX, XII, XV). The ruling in Q. XI is irregular.

13. B. N. lat. 13759 (From Corbie). Martinellus. Rightly ascribed to Tours by J. Gwynn, *The Book of Armagh*, p. CCLXVIII, n. 1. In fact, like the preceding books, it strongly suggests the work of the scribe Fredegaudus. Abbreviations: ihs, xps, tur with the apostrophe. There are various changes of this symbol to 2, apparently by another hand, though the ink in the added stroke is of the same color as the original or exceedingly near to it. Ruling: 4 O. S. on the inner leaf, not very carefully done. This book was evidently a present from Tours to Corbie, from which monastery the ancient manuscript of Livy (Puteanus) was loaned to Tours where a copy (the Vatican Livy) was made by Fredegaudus and his associates. The present volume may thus, perhaps, have prompted, or requited, the courtesy of the monks of Corbie.

IV. — **The Alcuinian Period.**

The features of the style which I call "Regular" and which may have been due, in some measure, to the influence of Alcuin, are the following.

1) The careful demarkation of the different varieties of script, — square capital, rustic capital, uncial, semiuncial and minuscule. Each obeys its own laws and is not mixed with the other varieties.

2) For the minuscule, this means the extirpation of cursive traits, i. e. the open *a* and ligatures, even that of *s* and *t*.

3) The use of the different scripts in a kind of hierarchy for explicits and incipits. Rustic capitals were generally employed for explicits, and the other varieties arranged in a descending scale for incipits, square capitals, uncials, semi-

uncials and minuscules being the most elaborate succession, with one or more of these members omitted in the simpler forms of introduction.

The principles of the Regular Style I incline still to believe, for reasons that I cannot elaborate here, were established under Alcuin. But they were not thoroughly mastered by all the scribes of Tours. In fact, another style was cultivated there in Alcuin's time. Its essence is the deliberate retention and embellishment of Merovingian cursive traits. Script of this sort is accompanied by the use of Merovingian birds, beasts and fishes in the ornamentation, the animals frequently passing into the interlaces that make up part of the decoration. I will refer to this manner in script and art as the "Embellished Merovingian Style". There is something archaistic about it, — a tendency that can be paralleled in other monasteries at the turn of the century, for instance Corbie and Reichenau. It is a back-water movement.

We may thank Professor Wilhelm Köhler for a clear and convincing treatment of this style in his notable contribution in the *Miscellanea Ehrle*, pp. 172-180. The date of two representive books of this class, Paris B. N. lat. 1451 (796) and Troyes 1742, containing Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* (written between 801 and 804) furnish proof positive that this style was cultivated at Tours while Alcuin was there. The books discussed by Köhler, besides B. N. lat. 1451 and Troyes 1742, are Leyden, Voss. lat. Fol. 73, Nonius Marcellus; London, B. M. Harl. 2790, Gospels of St. Cyr of Nevers; Monza, Bibl. Capit. G, 1. Bible; Paris, B. N. lat. 17227, Gospels of Adalbaldus; and Rome, Vat. Reg. 762, Livy. Köhler presents only part of the material available to him and promises a fuller treatment in his long-expected work on the manuscripts of Tours, which will form Volume I in the series on Carolingian Miniatures projected by the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft. I will not hazard a complete criticism of his views until they are presented *in extenso*. At least nobody can now doubt that the Embellished Merovingian Style was in vogue at St. Martin's during Alcuin's time. But that is not the whole story. There was room at a large scriptorium like that of St. Martin's, to say nothing of the establishments at Marmoutier and St. Maurice's, for a simultaneous development of ano-

ther kind [1]). Tendencies were at work, I believe, that led to the establishment of the Regular Style, in which Merovingian traits were not beautified but rooted out. The Vatican Livy, which has no ornamentation, can be more properly regarded, I believe, as a precursor of this manner than as representative of the other style. The whole question needs a new analysis, particularly as regards the script.

I will treat the two styles, so far as they are illustrated in the Paris manuscripts, under different headings.

A. **The Embellished Merovingian Style.**

14. B. N. lat. 260 (from a monastery of St. Amantius somewhere in the south of France). Gospels. The ornamentation of this book is clearly of the sort described by Köhler. The script is the work of four hands one of which has all the elaborate fancifulness of the Leyden Nonius and the Gospels of St. Cyr of Nevers. Another closely suggests the manner of Tours 10 and another *has accepted the innovations of the Regular Style*; a few cases of open *a* appear, but these are lapses from a definite intention. Abbreviations: ihs, xps, *tur* with the apostrophe or the semicircle, the points facing to the left. The ruling is 2 O. S. If this book, as a whole, should be admitted to the group discussed by Köhler and regarded as typical of what was done under Alcuin, then, it should be noted, it contains in one of its hands a specimen of the Regular Style.

15. B. N. lat. 17227. Gospels of Adalbaldus. This is a much discussed book, written perhaps by the famous Adalbaldus, the scribe of the Quedlinburg Martinellus, but perhaps by an earlier scribe of the same name. He would be the Adalbaldus whose name is No. 58 in the St. Gall list of the monks of Tours and thus would be contemporary with the writers of the Vatican Livy. The later scribe is No. 152. If the

(1) See the remarks made by Lowe on the different styles of Corbie (*Class. Rev.* XXXVII [1923], 136) and by Lindsay (*Palae. Lat.* IV [1925], 15) on Schiaparelli's monumental publication of Codex 490 of the Chapter Library of Lucca: " And Schiaparelli's recent book on Lucca has exploded the notion that variety of script is inconceivable at a scriptorium ".

former possibility, for which I once cast in my vote [1], is true, then Adalbaldus started in with the Embellished Merovingian Style — in a modified form — and later worked away from it. The ornamentation of the book is of the type described by Köhler. The script, while full of cursive traits, is extremely elegant. At times the manner is almost fanciful, like that the Leyden Nonius and the Gospels of St. Cyr of Nevers. At times Adalbaldus, who can reduce his cursive traits, approaches the great simplicity of the midcentury. And yet the script is all of a piece and decidedly early. This manuscript, like No. 14, is a connecting link between the two manners of the Alcuinian period. The connection is made even more impressively, for we see the two styles coming to expression in the work of a single scribe. Abbreviations: ihs, xps, *tur* in ligature and in the 2-symbol. Ruling: 2 O. S. on the inner leaf; 4 when the parchment allows (e. g. Q. XXIV).

16. B. N. lat 18312 (Notre Dame). Martinellus. This book is also ascribed by Gwynn (*The Book of Armagh*, p. CCLXVIII, n. 1) to Tours and rightly, for the scribe is none other than the writer of No. 15 — the earlier Adalbaldus or the younger Adalbaldus in his earlier manner. There is not much ornamentation in the book; what there is does particularly suggest that of the Embellished Merovingian group. Abbreviations: ihs xps, *tur* in ligature with the apostrophe and once (fol. 11) with the 2-symbol. The latter seems surely by the first hand. If the 2-symbol was in occasional use at St. Martin's at the beginning of the ninth century, as I have endeavored to show, Adalbaldus would be almost certain to try it now and then. He was fond of experiments. Ruling: 4 O. S. on the inner leaf, 3 for a ternion (Q. X). In Q. IX and XI some of the lines were inperfectly ruled and therefore several of the leaves were separately ruled again.

B. The Regular Style.

As I have already pointed out, this manner did not gain immediate acceptance. In the manuscripts mentioned below it may be assumed, unless a different statement is made, that

(1) See Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, I (1917), 22 f., and the literature cited there.

at least one scribe has conformed sometimes with occasional lapses, to the new rule. I will divide the manuscripts here treated into two classes, putting under *a*), in the order of the numbers in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the books that seem to me to fall in the earlier part of the period and under b) those that belong rather in the second or the third decade of the century than the first.

a) *Earlier books.*

17. B. N. lat. 68 (Colbert). Bible (part of Exodus - Micah). This book deserves comparison with B. N. lat 11514 (No. 23). Early in script and simple in ornamentation. Abbreviations: xps; the apostrophe symbol for *tur*. Ruling: generally 2 O. S. Correspondences are sometimes hard to trace. Certain irregular instances indicate that the leaves were sometimes drawn at random from a pile.

18. B. N. lat. 5325. Martinellus. A well-developed form of the Regular Style with simple ornamentation. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; *tur* regularly in ligature, rarely with the apostrophe. Ruling: 2 O. S. The ruling is not too careful, the column-lines sometimes slanting and the column varying in width.

19. B. N. lat. 5580. Martinellus. Script and ornamentation as in No. 18, except that this book is less carefully done. Abbreviations: ihx, xps; for *tur*, both the apostrophe and the 2-symbol. Despite this fact I am inclined to put this book in the first decade rather than later. Ruling: 4 O. S. on the outer leaf, 2 when the parchment is thick. Some irregularities. Ruling rather careless.

20. B. N. lat. 9397 (Marmoutier 112). Two fragments of a Bible. A. Sapientia and Ecclesiasticus. B. St. Matthew. MS. A presents an undeveloped script with cursive traits. Ornamentation is scarce and crude. MS. B is in a large and even script that has passed through the reform. Both parts are important witnesses of the style practised at Marmoutier (as distinguished from St. Martin's) in the early part of the ninth century. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; *tur* with the apostrophe. Ruling: 4 or 2 O. S.

21. B. N. lat. 9652 + 4406 (from Beauvais). Breviarium Alarici. I am indebted to Dr. E. A. Lowe for calling my attention to this book. Script clear and regular, ornamentation simple. One of the hands seems identical with one in Tours 286.

a highly important manuscript containing ancient *notae*; see *Speculum*, II (1927).

In the latter book, the reform had not been adopted; in the present book, it has. Abbreviations: *tur* in ligature and with the apostrophe (very frequent). Ruling: generally 4, rarely 2, O. S.

22. B. N. lat. 9735 (Marmoutier 112, part). Vita Sanctae Monegundis (fragment). Script is regular. The ligature for *tur*, though not the abbreviation, is found. Ruling (only one quire exists) is apparently 2 O. S.

23. B. N. 11514. Bible (Genesis-Job). An early copy of Alcuin's text, well treated by Dom Quentin in his Memoire sur le texte de la Vulgate. The ornamentation is primitive. Some of the hands have submitted to the reform and some have not. Some show the influence of the Embellished Merovingian style. The book has interesting connections with the Bible of Monza (Bibl. Capit. G 1). Abbreviations: xps. The symbol for *tur* is regularly the apostrophe; the 2-symbol (not frequent) is apparently the work of another hand. The ruling is at times faint and hard to make out. In Q. II, IV and V, either the principle is N. S., or each leaf is ruled separately, or the leaves were taken at random from a pile. Elsewhere (e. g. Q. III, VI, VII, XXI, XXII, XXIII) the principle is clearly 2 O. S. Therefore the nature of the ruling in Q. II, IV and V is most naturally explained by the miscellaneous selection from a pile, with perhaps some separate rulings. The adoption of N. S. is only apparent.

26. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1595 (St. Martin 74). St. Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana. Several hands, one similar to if not identical with that of Theodegrimus of the Vatican Livy. Another, not quite reformed, is near to that of Aldo, and another is very similar to one of the hands in Boulogne 51 (55), a most important book of Tours, for reference to which I am indebted to Dr. Lowe. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; for *tur* the apostrophe is generally used, though the 2-symbol is found, in some cases apparently by another hand, in other apparently by the hand of the text. Compare the state of affairs in Tours 10. The ruling is rather crudely done, the column-lines often slanting and the column varying in width. Generally 4 O. S. on the inner leaf, 3 for ternions.

27. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1712 (from Beauvais). Miracula Gregorii Turonensis. Script and ornamentation are of an early sort. Several hands, some showing the presence of the reform. Abbreviations: ihu, xps, and the apostrophe-symbol for *tur* (2 is by another hand).

28. Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève 1260. Evangelistary. Again I am indebted to Dr. Lowe for a reference to this book. It is the work of one hand, similar to if not identical with the writer of St. Matthew in the Pierpont Morgan Gospels M 191). My treatment of that volume in *Miscellanea Ehrle* (IV, 1924, pp. 89-104) needs considerable revision. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; *tur* in ligature, but with neither of the symbols, so far as I could discover. Ruling: generally 2 O. S., but sometimes 4 on the inner leaf.

b) *Later books.*

29. B. N. lat. 5516 (Colbert, from St. Martin's). 1. Liber Pontificalis. 2. Canons of the Council of Paris in 829. Here we have a terminus post quem. The book was written not long after the date of the Council, in my opinion. The script is most informal. Some of the varieties are in the small minuscule often employed for tables of contents, or capitula, in the Bibles of Tours; others are in the still smaller sort used for glosses. The report of the Council starts off in a good round hand, obviously that of Tours. Abbreviations: ihu, xps, *tur* with the apostrophe and with 2. Here is proof that the apostrophe could be used systematically at least as late as 829. Ruling 4 O. S. on the outer rarely the inner) leaf, 3 for ternions. Some irregularities. The drawing of the lines is rough and is at times neglected by the scribe.

30. B. N. lat. 6115 (Memmianus, from St. Martin's). Suetonius, Vita Caesarum. See above, p. 4, n. 1. This is not an edition de luxe. The script is rather small, though not so tiny as that employed for capitula; see No. 29. Abbreviations: *tur* with 2 and occasionally with the apostrophe. Ruling: 2 O. S., or 4 when the parchment, generally rather thick, allows. The ruling is not very accurate. I may be wrong in classing this manuscript, tentatively, with the later rather than with the earlier books of this period.

31. B. N. lat. 10848. Martinellus. Script plain and clear. Ornamentation rather elaborate, though not quite on a par,

let us say, with that of the Bible of Moutier-Grandval (London, B. M. Add. 10546). A list of the Archbishops of Tours on fol. 117 in which the last name is that of Landramnus (816-835 [1]) roughly determines the date. Abbreviations: ihs, xps: for *tur* the 2-symbol (some perhaps by another hand) and less frequently, the apostrophe. Ruling: 2 O. S.

The reader will notice that the *tur*-symbol is of much importance in determining the date of the books in the present category. The *systematic* use of the figure 2 along with the apostrophe indicates, as Lindsay has shown (Notae Latinae, p. 377), a date round about 820. The use of the figure 2 alone speaks for a later date. Of course there are exceptions.

V. — The Pre-midcentury.

It now becomes important to watch the abbreviations for *Iesus* and *Christus*, which have been invariable thus far. Towards the appreach of the mid-century, certain scribes began to write the abbreviations wholly in Greek letters: IHC, XPC a half-way form is IHS. See Lindsay, Notae Latinae, p. 407.

I will mention at this point the Moutier-Grandval Bible (London, B. M. Add. 10546, which has ihs, xps and both the apostrophe and 2 as symbols in the abbreviation for *tur*. This is a book that for perfection of script can vie with that of the midcentury, and yet the *tur*-abbreviations indicate that it was probably written not far from 820. The ruling, so far as my notes show, is still 2 O. S. The initials (if my observation is correct) received fresh ornamentation at a later time, yet not so late as the period when the First Bible (of Charles the Bald (B. N. lat. 1) was written.

A book that is not so late as this Bible is:

32. B. N. lat. 250. New Testament. The script is careful and the ornamentation good, though not so developed as that in the Moutier-Grandval Bible. Abbreviations: ihs, xps, and the apostrophe consistently in the *tur*-symbol. The ruling shows the earliest specimen among the books of Tours that I know of the New Style, two leaves at a time. The ruling is

(1) Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 640.

on the hair-sides, and convex lines confront convex on the flesh-sides. Correspondences are hard to get, but sure examples exist; e. g. fol. 10^{v} is ruled on 8^{v}, 30 on 28^{v}, 52^{v} on 50^{v}. This is the way, as explained above, that the ruling in Paris B. N. lat. 3 is done. We may perhaps infer from the character of this book that the approximate date when N. S. came in is round about 820.

33. B. N lat. 274 (from Meaux). Gospels. The art and the script suggest the period when the Moutier-Grandval Bible was written. Abbreviations: ihs, iHs, xps; for *tur*, both the apostrophe and the 2-symbol. N. S. ruling is in, convex FS confronting convex FS and some secondary rulings among the HS. Thus even though correspondences are undiscoverable, we may be sure that two leaves were ruled at a time.

34. B. N. lat. 3. The Rorigo Bible. See above, pp. 2 f. The date of this book is probably 835; this is the opinion of Professor Köhler, expressed to me in a recent letter.

It seems safe enough to say that the New Style was invented at some time between c. 820 and c. 835. Let us hope that further investigation by others may enable us to make this date more precise. As is usually the case, it took some time for the innovation to become a practice. I will include under the present heading four manuscripts which seem to have been written about this time and which yet still preserve the Old Style of ruling.

35. B. N. lat. 7774 A. Cicero. Two different books. *a*) Verrine orations (part), Q. X, fol. 80^{v} is signed Q. XXXV. The original manuscript, therefore, probably contained at least all of the Verrines. The script is Regular. The 2-symbol is used for *tur*. Ruling: 2 O. S. The ruling is careful. *b*) Rhetorica. Cursive traits appear in the script. *Tur* has the 2-symbol. Ruling: 2 O. S. Possibly MS. B may be later, but A seems to me to have been written before 850, — perhaps not long before. A similar view is expressed by Professor A. Clark in his review of Lindsay's Notae Latinae (*Classical Review*, 1916, p. 93.

36. B. N. lat. 7959 (Colbert). Servius on Virgil. Mainly in the small or "capitulary" hand of Tours. The Regular Style. *Tur* is abbreviated regularly with the 2-symbol. Traces of semiuncial in the lemmata suggest that the book may have

been copied from an original in which semiuncial was more lavishly used. (Lowe suggests that the original was in Insular script). We hope for further light on this manuscript, apparently the oldest of the manuscripts of Serviu's commentary and as yet untouched, from Dr. J. J. Savage. It was at his request that I examined the book and thus was enabled to add it to the present list. Possibly it should be given an earlier date. Ruled evenly, 2 O. S.

37. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1490 (from Cluny). Two manuscripts. *a*) Hegesippus, Historiae. Various hands, some large and round, some in the small or capitulary script. The 2-symbol for *tur*. The ruling is often hard to make out. In some cases (e. g. Q. VIII) 2 O. S. but elsewhere (Q. II, IV), apparently N. S. *b*) Iohannes Scottus, Dionys. Areop. Hierarch. See No. 55.

38. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1612, 1613, 1614 + Tours 334 (St. Martin 42). Bede *De Naturis Rerum*; Boethius, *De Arithmetica*; Aratus, *De Astrologia* and other matter dealing with the quadrivium and with natural science. A most interesting collection. Various hands, some in the small of capitulary style, some neat and distinguished. The 2-symbol for *tur*. Ruling: 2 O. S. It is of some importance to know about when a library of science like this was put together.

39. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 2322 (S. Martin 85). Collection of Sermons compiled by Paulus Diaconus (second part) (1). Primitive ornamentation and a ragged script. Possibly a gift from some other monastery to St. Martin. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; *tur* with the figure 2. Ruling inelegant: 4 O. S. on the inner leaf, sometimes 2.

VI. — The Midcentury.

We come now to the best that the schools of Tours produced in script and in art. I would call the style of this period the "Perfected Style". One of most typical of its represen-

(1) I owe the correct designation of the contents of this book to Dom Wilmart. The collection should not be attributed to Alcuin, as it was by Delisle ("Notice sur les mss. disparus de la Bibliothèque de Tours pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle", *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXXI; Paris, 1883, pp. 37 ff.).

tatives is the Bible written for Charles the Bald by order of Vivian, Abbot of St. Martin's from 845 to 851.

40. B. N. lat. 1. First Bible of Charles the Bald. This magnificent volume is assigned by Köhler to the year 845/6. Abbreviations: ihs, IHS, xps. For *tur*, the 2-symbol is regular: a very few cases of the apostrophe occur, but they were probably taken over from the original. The ruling is 2 N. S. in exactly the same fashion as in Paris 3. Thus in Q. XLVII, 338 and 340, 350 and 352 are ruled together (i. e. H^v-A on F^v-C and D^v-E on B^v-G). Similar rulings in Q. IV, VI, XXV, XLVII. In general, correspondences are hard to get; the leaves were obviously taken from a pile. In Q. XIV, XVI, XVII it is plain that none of the rulings match. In certain quires, though no correspondences are discoverable, clear cases of secondary rulings appear (e. g. Q. XXII, XXIV, XXXV). In short, the principle of 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile, is obvious.

41. B. N. lat. 47. The Faure Bible (parts of the Old and of the New Testament). Script, "Perfected". ornamentation simple. Abbreviations: ihs, xps, XPC. The ruling is 2 N. S. on a different principle from that apparent in B. N. 1 and 3. Instead of the ruling of A and C, E and G together, it is (e. g. in Q. 1), B^v-G on H^v-A; F^v-C on D^v-E. Similarly in Q. VII it is H^v-A on B^v-G; D^v-B on F^v-C. In Q. XVI it is H^v-A on B^v-G and F^v-C on D^v-E. According to the first way (as in Paris 1 and 3) we have two different pairs of leaves:

I. (1) H^v-A on (2) F^v-C.
II. (3) D^v-E on (4) B^v-*G*.

In re-assembling, (1) is turned over and put hair-side down: (4) is taken from under (3) in the other pair and, without inversion, is placed on (1); (2) is inverted and laid on (4); and (3), without inversion, is laid on (2). The best arrangement is shown in Q. XVI.

I. (1) H^v-A on (2) B^v-G.
II. (3) F^v-C on (4) D^v-E.

First (1) is inverted and laid down. Then (2) *from the same pair* is placed without inversion on it. (3) inverted on that, and (4) not inverted on that. Here each pair is disposed

of separately, — a gain in system and in time. In many cases, however, it is clear that the leaves of this manuscript were drawn at random from the pile.

42. B. N. lat. 5582. Martinellus. An elegant copy in the flush of the midcentury, as is shown by both script and ornamentation. Abbreviations: IHC, xps; only the 2-symbol for *tur*. The ruling is even and elegant. Correspondences are hard to find; this fact is in itself, generally, an indication of the later kind of ruling. In some of the gatherings all of the rulings are apparently primary, leading one to infer that each leaf was ruled at a time. In others, however (e. g. Q. V), they are all clearly secondary; in others both primary and secondary rulings appear. The principle is, therefore, 2 N. S. the leaves being drawn at random from the pile.

43. B. N. lat. 266. The Gospels of Lothaire. In script and ornament, the most elaborate and the most perfect production of the school of St. Martin, — one of the great monuments of art, like the Parthenon, the cathedral at Bourges and the Biblioteca Laurenziana. Its date falls between 843 and 855 and probably after 849. Abbreviations iHs; xps, XPS; the 2-symbol is regularly used for *tur*, though as in B. N. 1, isolated cases of the apostrophe occur. In the ruling we should expect N. S., but it is not what we find. The ruling is most delicately done and correspondences are hard to trace. Some of the leaves may have been separately ruled, e. g. in Q. VI, where the parchment is rather thick. In some cases, O. S. may be detected; e. g. in Q. VII, fol. 39 is ruled on 40, 46ᵛ on 45ᵛ (other examples in Q. XIII and XXI). However, N. S. was sometimes applied; e. g. in Q. XII, fol. 79ᵛ-80 (= Dᵛ-E) is ruled on 77ᵛ-82 (= Bᵛ-G). In Q. IX a great exception is made in putting the primary ruling on FS, — fol. 59ᵛ-58 (= Eᵛ-D) on 62ᵛ-55 (= Hᵛ-A). This is N. S. ruling, save that the leaf Eᵛ-D was mistakenly inverted before ruling and therefore received the lines on FS. It hardly makes any difference with leaves so neatly prepared. In Q. X, fol. 70ᵛ-63 (= Hᵛ-A) was ruled on 69ᵛ-64 (= Gᵛ-B) in O. S., but though fol. 68ᵛ-65 (= Fᵛ-C) is ruled on 67ᵛ-66 (= Eᵛ-D), apparently in O. S., fol. 65 is HS-FS, 66 HS-FS, 67 FS-HS and 68 FS-HS, thus breaking Rule I. That is, these leaves were ruled in accordance with the new principle and then failed to be re-assembled in

accordance with Rule I. In other words, the ruling of this book is one of those exceptions that we expect to find in a manuscript so exquisitely prepared and inscribed.

44. B. N. lat. 9385. The Du Fay Gospels. Beautiful in ornamentation and in script. The latter is exceedingly fine, almost a rival for No. 43. The art suggests a somewhat later stage. Abbreviations: iHs, xps; the 2-symbol for *tur*. As in No. 43, the parchment is delicately prepared and Rule I is not always followed (e. g. not in Q. XII and XXII). There are various cases of 2 O. S., though it is often hard to tell what the principle is. In at least 2 quires (VI and VII), 2 N. S. appears. This book, then, is in a class with No. 43 not only in its script but in its ruling.

45. B. N. lat. 261 (Colbert, from Le Mans). Gospels. Script beautiful and "Perfected". Ornamentation elaborate with profuse display of gold, suggesting the style of No. 44, perhaps in a later stage. Abbreviations: ihs, IHC, xps; the 2 symbol for *tur*. The ruling is very careful and correspondences are impossible to find. But HS is always ruled, some of these rulings are secondary, and convex FS confronts convex FS. Therefore the method is 2 N. S. Pin-pricks are generally visible and offer a good clue to correspondences, or rather to the lack of them. The scribe, therefore, drew at random from a pile.

46. B. N. lat. 263. (Gospels incomplete). In script and ornamentation this book belongs in the circle of Nos. 43, 44 and 45. Abbreviations: ihs, IHC, xps, XPC; the 2 symbol for *tur*. Ruling: 2 N. S. Correspondences hard to detect.

47. B. N. lat. 267 (Colbert). Gospels. Another book in the category of the four preceding. Abbreviations: ihs, IHC, xps, XPC. Ruling: 2 N. S. The principle exhibited in No. 41 (B. N. 47) is followed. Thus in Q. IV, H^v-A is ruled on B^v-G and F^v-C on D^v-E. In Q. V, H^v-A is ruled on B^v-G and D^v-E on F^v-C.

48. B. N. lat. 324 (Colbert). Gospels. This tiny volume (165 × 117 mm.), a "bed-side" copy, seems in both art and script, despite their elegance, distinctly later than the mid-century. It is the latest in the series of ornamented books that has just been noticed, and perhaps should be put in the following period. Abbreviations: IHC, xps, XPC. The 2-symbol

for *tur*. It would have been easy to rule the small pages O. S., but in conformity with the general practice of this period, the style is 2 N. S.

VII. — The Post-midcentury Period.

I include here various books clearly written after the great movement just described. They exhibit different tendencies and need a nicer discrimination than I can give them here. I take them up in the order of their numbers in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

49. B. N. lat. 9386 (from Meaux). Gospels. Crude and curious art (with unusual pictures), unformed in script and yet with late symptoms. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; the 2-symbol for *tur*. Traube had this book on his list, probably on account of the crude semiuncial that it contains, but rightly called it "nicht turonisch". I include it here because of its curious ruling. This is 4 (or in case of thick parchment 2) O. S., but the principle is that described under No. 5 (the Gospels of St. Gatian). Thus in Q. XI, the leaves were arranged in accordance with Rule I and fol. 79 was ruled on 80 (= A on B), i. e. O. S. But instead of ruling the other halves of the double leaves at the same time (fol. 86ᵛ on 85ᵛ = Hᵛ on Gᵛ), the scribe inverted the pair of leaves and ruled 85 on 86 (G on H). This is also the method, it seems, for Q. V (four at a time) and for Q. XIV (two at a time). I suspect, once more, that this method may have been practised by Insular scribes, introduced to the Continent during the wave of Irish influence about the middle of the eighth century and taken up again in connection with the renewed influence of the Irish in the latter half of the ninth century. At least this method re-appears in certain books of that period.

50. B. N. lat. 9430 + Tours 184 (St Gatian 62). The three Sacramentaries discussed by Delisle in his memorable article, Memoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires. Of these three, No. II seems earlier than the others, but in both ornamentation and script they all are later than the midcentury. Abbreviations ihu, ihm, and in Sacramentary II, iHm. All three have the 2-symbol for *tur*, and all three are ruled 2 N. S.

51. B. N. lat. 9603 (St. Martin 122). Collection of Homilies (ascribed to Alcuin). Part in the small capitulary script, part in a fair even hand with embellished cursive traits. Delisle (Notices et Extraits, XXX, 1, p. 40) and Chatelain (Notes Tironiennes, p. 214) regard this book as written shortly after the death of Alcuin. Possibly it may be claimed for the "Embellished Merovingian" group. The script had always seemed to me much later than this. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; the 2-symbol for *tur*. Ruling: 2 N. S. Here is a case where the method of ruling is of obvious help in determining the date. Again Dom Wilmart comes to my aid and informs me that the collection should be assigned to Haymo of Auxerre and that the present copy cannot be the original work. Since the latter was not compiled before 850, the present manuscript was written after that date. It seems clear from other evidence at my disposal that after the Midcentury Period cursives were again taken up by the scribes of Tours.

52. B. N. lat. 9604 (St. Martin 85). Collection of Homilies compiled by Paulus Diaconus. For the contents see note on No. 39. Clear and pleasing script with embellished cursive, suggesting the end of the century. Abbreviations: ihm (corr. to iHm by another hand); the 2-symbol for *tur*. The first quire seems to be N. S., but the rest of the book is 2 O. S. Possibly this book should be placed with No. 35 (B. N. 7774 A) just before the midcentury.

53. B. N. lat. 9729 (St. Martin 90). Vitae Patrum. A clear, rather small hand with cursive traits, suggesting the end of the century. Abbreviations: the 2 symbol for *tur*. Ruling: 2 N. S.

54. B. N. lat. 9733 (St. Martin 154, part). Extracts from Gregory of Tours about St. Martin. The rather degenerate script, with cursive traits, suggests the end of the century and the breaking up of the style of Tours. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; the 2-symbol for *tur*. Ruling: 4 O. S. on the inner leaf.

55. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1490 (from Cluny). See No. 37. MS. B. Iohannes Scottus, Dionys. Areop. Hierarch. A hand suggesting the end of the century, with cursive traits. The 2-symbol for *tur*. The ruling is of the 2 O. S. sort described under Nos. 5 and 49. E. g. in Q̃. XII, fol. 88 is ruled on 89,

90 on 91, 92 on 93 and 94 on 95; and so for the rest of the manuscript.

56. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1589 (St. Gatian 65). Sacramentarium Gregorianum. Script and ornamentation are clearly after the midcentury, suggesting a still more degenerate form of that exhibited in the first of the sacramentaries in No. 50. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; the 2 symbol for *tur*. Ruling: 2 O. S. Was there a revival of O. S. towards the end of the century?

57. B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1603 (St. Gatian 143). Cassiodorus, Historia Tripertita. The script is careful but not old. There are touches of the Franco-Saxon style in the ornamentation, in which gold is used. The general "feel" of the script is that of the third quarter of the century. Abbreviations: ihs, xps; for *tur*, both the apostrophe, the 2-symbol and the Anglo-Saxon form in which the top of the t is crossed by a curved, descending stroke (Lindsay, Notae Latinae, p. 373). There may well have been a revival of the apostrophe-symbol in connection with the Franco-Saxon movement. The parchment used for this book is fine in texture and so carefully prepared that it hardly matters which side is ruled. Rules I and II are apparently observed throughout. Correspondences in the ruling are hard to detect. Possibly, but I think not probably, each leaf was separately ruled. It is more likely that the principle is 2 N. S. At any rate, it cannot be called O. S.

58. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1171. Gospels. A splendid monument of art, included by Delisle (Journal des Savants, 1902, p. 473) in his list of the books of Tours. If he is right, this book is proof that the Franco-Saxon, in a modified form, was cultivated at Tours in the last quarter of the century, — a possibility that will perhaps bear pondering. I suggest it with utmost hesitation, since Köhler and Wilmart are strongly of the opinion that this book is no product of Tours. Abbreviations: ihs, IHC, xps, XPC; the 2 symbol for *tur*. The ruling is elegant and careful. Correspondences are hard to discover. The ruling is generally on HS and secondary rulings can be detected. This means 2 N. S. Sometimes a leaf is separately ruled, very elaborately so for the initials on fol. 18. Gathering VIII is apparently ruled 4 O. S., the parchment being thin. In general, however, the ruling is 2 N. S. These

conditions are like those that we have found in such éditions de luxe as Nos. 43 and 44.

I must say a word in conclusion about a manuscript not in Paris and possibly not written in the same period as those just discussed, — in fact it is traditionally ascribed to the eighth century.

Tours 22. The Golden Gospels. This is the famous book on which the monarchs of France took their oaths as honorary Canons of St. Martin's. It has long been attributed to the eighth century. It is written in gold uncials, which in their style comport well enough with the work of that period. The ornamentation in the initials and especially in the Canon Tables might seem altogether too elaborate for a scriptorium that was turning out the interlacing beasts conspicuous in the books of the "Embellished Merovingian" style. I will say nothing about the text, — a subject from which I have refrained throughout this paper. I will not attempt to support the traditional dating, though something might be said for it. Köhler believes that the book was not done at Tours, but rather at Fleury.

If now in our perplexity, we turn to the ruling for possible light, a most curious condition confronts us. The parchment, as we should expect, was prepared with the utmost care, so that it is hard to tell whether Rules I and II are systematically observed. In some cases they surely are not. In some, they surely are. The ruling is done on each *page* (not merely each leaf) separately. Lines are drawn for the tops as well as for the bottoms of letters; the double pin pricks for the lines are conspicuous not infrequently in the outer margins, though the latter have often been cut away, and they may always be found in the inner margins not far from the binding. Further, some sort of coloring matter was used in the ruling, — not ink, but something like red and brown lead, in which the sharp point of the ruler may have been dipped. Ordinarily, the lines for the text and the inner column-lines are red and the outer column-lines are brown. Often the coloring-matter has faded or been rubbed away; it was apparently intended as part of the ornamentation of the book. In some cases the ruling point may have received no color. I will refrain from commenting on certain other details. Enough

has been said to show that this ruling is not only the most elaborate among the books of Tours here treated but highly exceptional, possibly *sui generis*, among early Mediaeval manuscripts in general. According to the accepted doctrine, at least, we should expect nothing but ruling *a la pointe sèche* before the twelfth century.

Could an elaboration of this sort have possibly been achieved at Tours at the end of the eighth century? Or if it is something unique for Tours in any of the periods under discussion, why might it not have been ordered by Alcuin as well as by any of his successors? Is there anything like it in the gold-and-purple volumes produced at the end of the eighth century perhaps under the auspices of the Schola Palatina and perhaps under Alcuin's auspices, such as the Book of Ada, the Dagulf Psalter and the Godescalc Gospels? The rulings in all the books of this class and in a goodly number of the ancient books should be minutely studied before we can profitably consider the case of the Golden Gospels of Tours.

The facts that I have presented in this paper may be summarized as follows:

1. In the earliest periods in the history of the script of Tours, the ruling is crude and informal.

2. The method that I have termed the Old Style consists in the ruling of two or four leaves at a time on a hair-side after they have been arranged with hair-sides confronting hair-sides and flesh-sides confronting flesh-sides (Rule I). The Old Style is regularly employed from the end of the eighth century down to about 820 or somewhat later, when the New Style came in.

3. The New Style consists in the ruling of two leaves on a hair-side after they have been arranged with the flesh-side of the upper leaf on the hair-side of the lower leaf, the leaves being subsequently re-assembled in accordance with Rule I. The New Style was regularly practised during the Midcentury and is frequently found thereafter.

4. A special variety of O. S. is that in which the leaves are assembled in accordance with Rule I and are then ruled, sometimes two, sometimes four at a time, first on the outer leaf, then on the inner leaf after the middle of the gathering

the latter apparently having been folded. This method appears in a book of Insular character (No. 5) in the eighth century and reappears in certain books written towards the close of the ninth (Nos. 49 and 55).

From these facts, a definite principle for use in the determination of dates emerges, to be used with caution and with the application of that all-necessary principle, "ceteris paribus". If, that is, we are inclined for certain reasons to place a manuscript towards the beginning of the ninth century and find it ruled O. S., we have a corroboration of our estimate. If we find, however, that the ruling is N. S., we shall probably have to revise that estimate. Correspondingly, if we have reason for dating a book in the middle of the century or later and find that it is ruled N. S., or in the peculiar kind of O. S., just described in 4, our estimate is confirmed. If the book is ruled O. S., that estimate is not thereby overthrown — though we may well re-consider it — seeing that O. S. was still cultivated after the new principle had come in.

We need more facts before a more definite statement than that here given can be made. The books here treated are merely a selection from the manuscripts of Tours. All that remain should be examined, and the investigation extended to other schools as well. I have ventured to present thus much of my material in the hope that other students of palaeography may bear the matter in mind in their researches, correct my present statements and inferences and answer some of the questions that I have raised.

dm nescimus. praeter eum quod speramus
quia non dispicit nos sed nec auferet salutare
suum a genere suo quo in eo qd capti sumus
capietur omnis iudea & praedabuntur sca nra
& exquiret ds iniquitatem sanguinis nostri &
mortem fratrum nostrorum & captiuitatem
terrae & iniquitatem hereditatis nostrae
reducit in capite nostro in gentibus quibus
seruierimus ibi & erimus in offendiculum &
in improperium ante om qui possiderint
nos. quo dirigitur seruitus nra in gratia sed
sine honore ponet eam dns ds noster. Et nunc
fratres suscipiamus fratres nostros qm
ex pendit animae eorum. & sca & dom & sa
crarium incumbit in nobis. praeterea cau
haec omnia placeamus ipsi do nostro qui
temptat nos sicut patres nostros. Memores
estote quae fecit cum abraham & cum isac
ac & quae facta sunt huic iacob in meso po
tamiam syriae pascenti pecora laban
fratris matris suae quia sic illos iussit in t
rogatione cordis illorum. Et nos n in ultio
nem sed in monitione flagelli dns adpropin
quantes sibi. Et dixit ad eam ozias quecu
que dixisti in bono corde locuta es. & non est
qui resistat uerbis tuis quo quidem n ex ho
die nata sapientia tua manifesta e. sed
ab initio dierum tuarum scit omnis popul

uilt eum reci p(er) penitentiam & p(er) petre accusetur inui
ditia; Et ut sciamus hunc esse sensum que diximus.
titulus parabole huius fines que consentiunt. Sic
erunt inquid nouissimi primi & primi nouissimi. Mul
ti enim sunt uocati pauci autem electi .

Et ascendens ihs hierusolimam adsumpsit XII · Sep LVIIII
discipulos & ait illis. Ecce ascendimus hierusolimam
& filius hominis tradetur principibus seniorum & scri-
bis. Et condempnabit eum morte. et tradent eum gentib;
ad deludendum. & flagellendum. & crucifigendum.
Et tertia die resurget. Crebro hoc ipsum discipulis dix-
erat. Sed quia multa in medio disputatis poterat
labi de memoria quod audierat . iturus hierusolimam.
& secum ducturus apostolos. ad temptatione eos prae-
parat. ne cum uenerit persecutio & crucis ignominia scan
dalizentur. Tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum ze
bidei cum filiis suis adorans & petens aliquid ab eo. — de matre filiorum zebedei et de peticione eius.
Qui dixit ei. Quid uis. Ait illi. Dic ut sedeant hii duo
filii mei. unus ad dexteram. & unus ad sinistram. in reg
no tuo. Unde opinionem regni habet mater filiorum zebedei.
ut cum dns dixerit. Filius hominis tradetur principibus
sacerdotum & scribis & condempnabunt eum morte. & tra
dent gentibus ad inludendum & flagellendum. & cruci
figendum. Et ignominiam passionis timentibus discipu

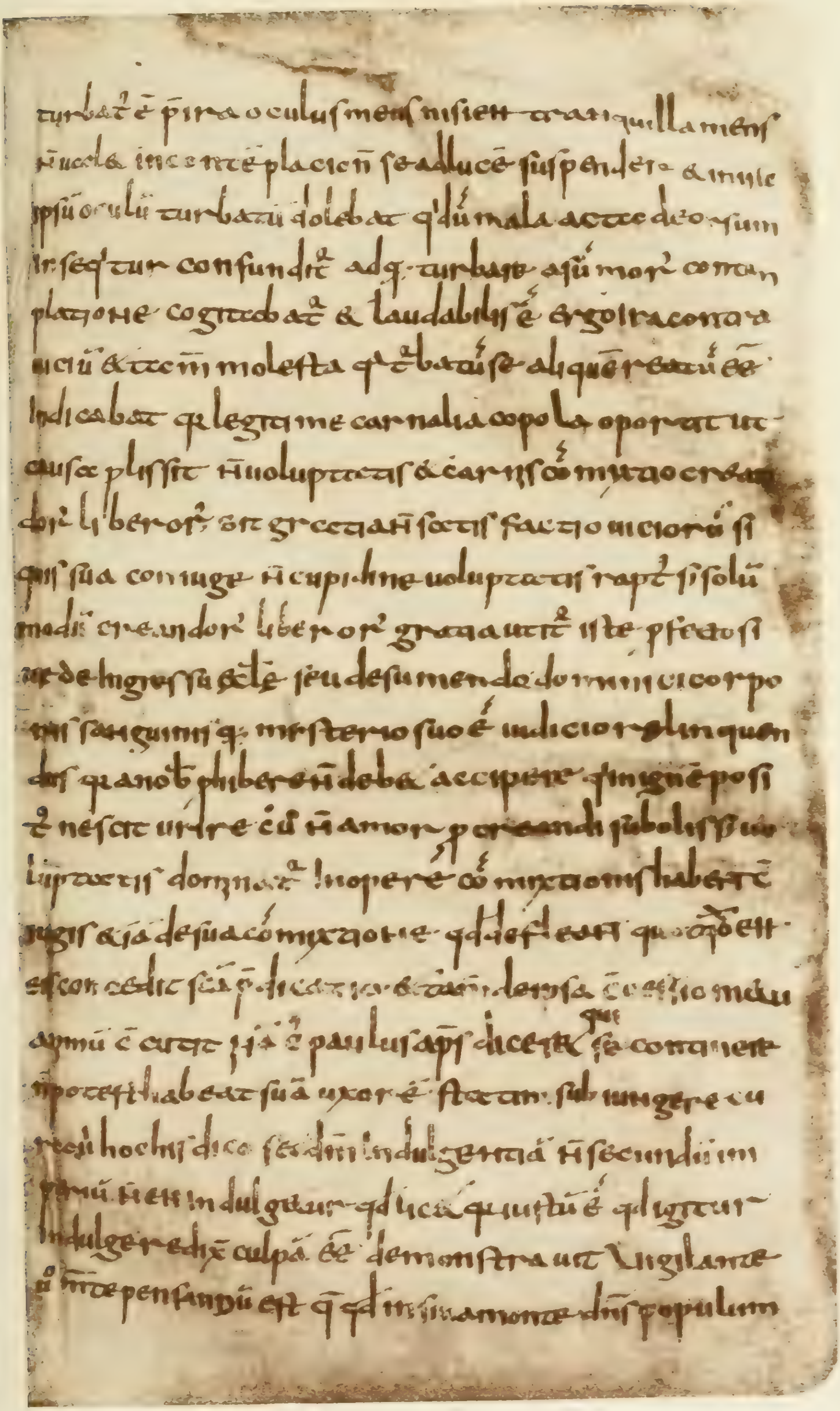
eos qui corruperunt t̃ram & alius angelus uenit non dix
p̉ euenit sed angelos tubas accepisse p̄ponens redit & expone
re qualiter acceperint quo sicut ante aduentum dn̄i p̄dicabat
ecclesia sed non ubique don& eius ess& confirmata spū &
st&it ante altare habens turabulum aur&um in consp&
tu scilic& apparuit ecclesiae factus ipse turibulum &
quod d̃ odorem suauitatis accepit & p̄pitius factus ẽ mundo
Alia editio hab& super aram quod sup altare crucis turibu
lum suū aur&um idest corpus inmaculatum & spū scō
conceptum obtulerit patri p̄ nobis & data sunt illi concen
sa multa ut dar& de orationibus scōrum omnium sup al
tare quod est ante thronum de orationibus scōrum obtulit
incensa ipsi enim legauit ecclesia prec&es suas dicens diriga
tur oratio mea sicut incensum in consp&tu tuo Accepis
se autem de orationibus scōrum idem dicitur & obtulisse
quia p ipsum omnium possunt prec&es ad dnm̄ suauiter p̄
uenire & ascendit fumus incensorum de orationibus
scōrum de manu angeli coram dō xp̄o dn̄o se hostiam
suauitatis offerente conpunctio cordis scōrum accepta
bilis facta est quae ab igne nascens intimo sicut fumus
sol& excitare lacrimas & accepit angelus turabulum
& impleuit illud de igne altaris Bene turibulum igne
plenum inducit Non enim ad mensuram dat d̃s spm̄
quod p̄prie de xp̄i humanitate nouimus adimpl&um.

Verum quia periculosum e cuiquam de aliena conscientia iudicare cuius intentionem scire
nequit · Dat consilium quibus indiciis nō cordis erga proximum dirigere debeamus. Hš
SEQ· EX STUDIIS SUIS INTELLEGIT PUER SI MUNDA ET RECTAS OPERA EIUS
Quemcumque enim uirtutibus studere conspicis Verbi gratia · modestiae continentiae
Auditioni consapientium & obseruantiae mandatorum dī · maximeq; humilitati ac si
plicitati hūc mundae & rectae operam intellege · quem uero in sicontrarium ē tenere deprehe
dis hunc uelut inmundū ac distorti cordis hominem aut corrigere & castigare aut
si hoc non uales uitare ac declinare. Ne ab eo ipse corrumparis curato · Nec uiden contra
rium deb& · quod hic studia in si puer mundae ac rectae opera testat · Supra uero ait
Quis potest dicere mundum ē cor meum purus sum a peccato In hoc enim uersu studium
recte uiuendi suad& · In illo p̄sumptionem propriae puritatis dissuad& · In isto mundi
tiam & rectitudinem qualis in hac uitae ē iustorum potest doc& habendam In illo su
blimitatem diuinae examinis qua hominum facta & intentiones diiudicat · mon& semp
ante oculos habendam · Unde & illum locum antiqui interp̄tes ita transtuler̄ · Cum
derex iustus in solio sederit · quis gloriabit mundum se ēē a peccato · castum se habere
qui & hunc quem exponimus uersiculum manifestius posuere dicentes · Iuuenis que
iustoē directae erit uia illius · quoniam cum sapientibus graditr sapiens erit sic ecom
AMICUS STULTORUM EFFICIETUR SIMILIS · AUREM AUDIENTĒ ET OCULŪ UIDEN
DNS FEC UTRUMQUE Aurem audientem dic̄ Auditorem uerbi oboedientem · Oc
lum uidentem doctorem eruditum Nemo ergo cum se scripturarum inscientiam
instructum & addiscendum uerbum dī uiderit idoneum despiciat simplicitatem fra
qui & si minus doctus ad p̄dicandum Non tamen minus est promptus ad disce

tem filii isrl. omnia re...
ris usque ad iumenta gladio percusserunt. 7
Cunctas que urbes et uiculos beniamin uorax
flamma consumpsit. Iurauerant quoque filii
isrl in maspha et dixerant. Nullus nostrum
dabit filiis beniamin de filiabus suis uxorem.
Venerunt que omnes ad domum dei in silo. et in con
spectu eius sedentes usque ad uesperam. 7 Leua
uerunt uocem et magna ululatu coeperunt fle
re dicentes. Quare dne ds israhel factum est
hoc malum in populo tuo. ut hodie una tribus
auferretur a nobis. Altera autem die diluculo
consurgentes extruxerunt altare. obtulerunt

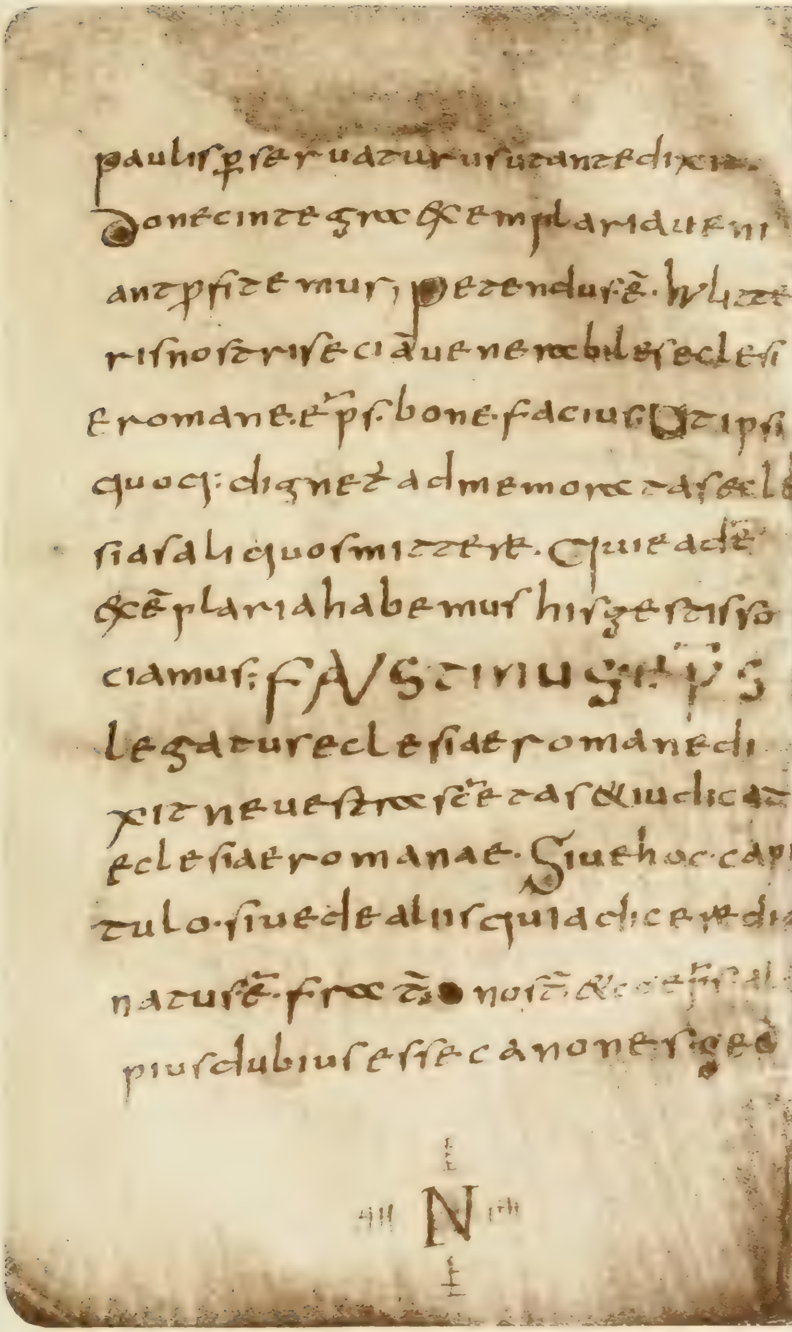
Deterrimus · persimus·
Deterius peius
Detunsi · deminuti·
Desierint cessauerint
Desiuit · ab iracundia leniuit·
Desiste · desine uel cessa
Desistere · cessare desidere
Decessit · abiit esse desiit
Debolatio designatio·
Decidit · ruit cadit·
Decidatis · cadatis·
Deuinxerat ligauerat·
Decipula · laqueum·
Demonicationes · supstitiones·
Decuria numerus x hominum
Derectum · rectus ordinatum uel rectum missum
Desiderantissimi · qui desiderat
ab eo qui est desideratus·
Detrimentum · dolemendum dr·

Dedalus · artifex summus·
Deamentro · quod permodum fit
Deformis fede formis·
Densum · spissum·
Densitate · spissitudine·
Defuit absens fuit·
Dehinc · deinde a post haec uel postea·
Deliberat · cogitat tractat·
Deuitat · spernit deuestit
Denuntiat · praestatur praedicit·
Deuoluat · deducat·
Debellat · euacuat uastat expugnat
Decertat · pugnat proeliat dimicat·
Depopulare · uastare spoliare
Depretiatus · uilis effectus·
Deuia · fine uia
Decaccinantem · deridentem·
Deierare · iurare·
Dedragma · duae mensurae


turbat e p ira oculus meus nisi en tranquilla mens
fuerit in contemplacion se ad luce suspendere & inde
ipsu oculu turbatu dolebat q dum mala acta deorsu
inr seq'tur confunditr adq turbari a su mor contem
placione cogitabat & laudabilis e ergo ira contra
uiciu & tamen molesta q turbatu se aliquem reatu ee
indicabat q legitime carnalia copola oportet ut
causa plis sit n uoluptatis & carnis comixtio creande
dor liberor sit gratia n sectis factio uiciorum si
quis sua coniuge n cupidine uoluptatis rapt si solu
modu creandor liberor gratia utitr iste pfecto si
ut de ingressu ecle seu desumendo dominici corpo
ris sanguinis q misterio suo e iudicio relinquen
dus q a nob phiberi n debet accipere qui igne posi
e nescit urere cu n amor pcreandi subolis s uo
luptatis dominatr in opere comixtionis habet e
ugis ac is de sua comixtione qd defleat
es concedit scs pdicator et tam de ipsa concessio metu
anmu c curat e paulus aps diceret qui se continere
n potest habeat sua uxore statim subiungere cu
rauit hoc aut dico secundu indulgentia n secundu im
periu non n indulgetur qd licet quia iustu e qd igitur
indulgere dixit culpa ee demonstrauit uigilante
u mente pensandu est q qd in sina monte dns populum

Stab. Sansaini - Roma

Plate VIII.



paulis presbyter uatur ut ante dixim
donec in integro exemplaria ueni
ant profitemur, petendus est. hic
ris nostri ue ecia uenerabiles ecle
e romane et papas bone faciunt ut ipsi
quoque dignetur ad memoratas ecle
sias aliquos mittere. quie ad eum
exemplaria habemus his gestis so
ciamus: FAUSTINUS episcopus p s
legatus eclesiae romane di
xit ne uestrae sctitatis iudicat
eclesiae romanae. Siue hoc capi
tulo siue de aliis quia dicere di
natus est fratris nostri et coepisc
pius dubius esse canone rege

Stab. Sansaini - Roma

[illegible]

[illegible] si [illegible]

[illegible] congregatio [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] quae [illegible]

[illegible] studios [illegible]

[illegible] Nugae [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] quae [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] non [illegible]

[illegible] pluribus [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] uincior

[illegible] uincior [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]